

SUPPLEMENT TO THE FIRST VOLUME
OF GLADWIN'S AYEEN AKBERI
AND
A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF
THE REIGN OF AKBAR

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No 2

SUPPLEMENT TO THE FIRST VOLUME OF
GLADWIN'S
AYEEN AKBERI

PREPARED FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS

BY

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FELLOW OF ALL SOULS COLLEGE PROFESSOR OF MODERN AND AN HISTORY
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD

TOGETHER WITH

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF
THE REIGN OF AKBAR

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FOREWORD

THE object of these few pages is to correct the more serious errors and to supply the more important omissions in that fragment of Gladwin's work which is of sufficient obvious historical interest to be prescribed for the use of students by the University of Allahabad. The references are arranged for use with the Popular Edition, edited by Jagadís Mukhopadhyaya, and published by the Indian Publication Society, Calcutta. Blochmann's Persian text has been the basis of work, and my obligations to Blochmann's translation are sufficiently obvious throughout.

These corrections were undertaken at the suggestion of Mr. G. Gardner Brown, who first directed my attention to the imperfections of Francis Gladwin's version.

I have to thank the Reader in Modern Indian History, Mr. Ram Prasad Tripathi, M.A., and a Research Scholar in the Department, Mr. Harish Chandra Misra, M.A., for their work in compiling the Chronological Table, which I trust will be found of assistance to students. The chronology of Akbar's reign is, as is well known, extremely confused, and I am not without hope that this Table may prepare the way for writers whose aims are of a more ambitious character.

ALL SOULS COLLEGE,

OXFORD,

June, 1917

NOTES FOR A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR

SHAIKH ABU'L FAZL was born on 6th Muharram, 958, at Agra. He was the son of the well-known mystic of Mahdawi leanings, Shaikh Mubarak, and the persecution to which his father was subjected by the Ulamas contributed in no small degree towards the hatred of religious intolerance which characterized the young man. Abu'l Fazl was introduced to Court in 981 by his brother Faizi, whose poems had attracted the notice of Akbar. The reception he received was so favourable that he soon gave up all thoughts of leading the life of a recluse, to which he had long been attracted. He soon became the leader of a Court party which regarded with disfavour the spiteful wranglings of orthodox divines, and at length promulgated the view that the Emperor ought to be the supreme guide through the disputes of the Church as well as of the State. In Rajab 987 was issued the remarkable document by which the whole body of learned men and ecclesiastical lawyers bound themselves to submit to the Emperor's will in matters of religion. This marked the triumph of the brothers Abu'l Fazl and Faizi, who from henceforth enjoyed the unstinted confidence of Akbar. In 1000, Abu'l Fazl was made a commander of two thousand horse, thus becoming one of the great Amirs of the Court. Four years later, Faizi died, to the abiding grief of his brother and of the Emperor. In the following year, 1005-6, Abu'l Fazl had his first experience of active service. He was despatched to the Deccan, where his honesty and loyalty

contrasted strongly with the general spirit of military administration in that quarter. From 1006 to 1011 he conducted operations with vigour and success from his headquarters on the Godavari. Unfortunately, he excited the jealousy of Prince Salim, who suspected him, 'quite groundlessly, of prejudicing the mind of the Emperor against the heir-apparent. On 4th Rabi I, 1011,¹ Abu'l Fazl was assassinated by Rajah Bir Singh, a Bundela chief, with the connivance of Salim. When the news of the murder came to court, no one had the courage to break it to the Emperor; but when at length he discovered it, he would see no one for several days. When he knew all the circumstances he gave way to bitter grief, and recited the verse—

" My Shaikh in his zeal hastened to meet me,
He wished to kiss my feet, and gave up his life "

¹ So the *Mu'asir ul Umara*, cf. Elliot and Dowson, vi. 3 But *Akbar Nama*, iii. 810 (written by Inayat Ullah), gives 1 Rabi I. The date in the text is usually accepted

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

Page viii —[After line 24 the original text runs]—

“It would be irrational for me to speak about what is known: I should become the laughing-stock of the wise. It is only of my knowledge of him, a precious jewel, that I send to the world's market-place, and I am proud of my engagement in such an undertaking. But it could not be from self-praise that I have proposed to carry out so great an enterprise—a work which would be difficult even for angels; for such a motive would reveal my inability and shortsightedness. My one aim in writing this work was first, to give those who are interested in this happy age an idea of the wisdom, greatness and activity of him who understands the smallest details of things human and divine, striding as he does over the field of knowledge; and secondly, to leave future generations a goodly heritage. To discharge an obligation is an adornment of life and a provision for death. Some there may be in this world of self-seeking (where dispositions are so varied, wishes so numerous, justice and guidance so infrequent) who will escape from the confused perplexities of Knowing and Doing by employing this source of wisdom. With this aim I recount some of the regulations of the great king, leaving for far and near a code of rules. It is therefore necessary for me to deal with the lofty position of royalty, and to describe the condition of those who are assistants in that high office. Before the judgment of the Almighty, there is no dignity higher than royalty, and from its fortunate spring the wise drink. Those

who need proof of this assertion may find it in the fact that royalty is a remedy for rebellion and a cause of obedience. This is shown by the very meaning of the word Padishah, for *pad* means firmness of position and ownership, while *shah* means origin and lord; so that he (the monarch) is the origin and lord of stability and possession. If royalty did not exist there would be no end to the force of strife and self seeking. Man would be bowed down into the pit of destruction under the burden of sin and lust, the great market place of the world would lose its prosperity, and the entire earth would be ruined. Some with cheerfulness, etc."

Page ix—[After line 1, the original runs]—

Foolish and shortsighted persons cannot distinguish a true monarch from a tyrant. Nor is this strange, for indeed each has a rich treasury, a numerous army, skilful servants, obedient subjects, many wise men, and an abundance of means of enjoyment. But those who can see more accurately discern a difference. In the former case, these things are lasting, in the latter case they are but transitory. The first does not set his heart upon them, for his aim is to remove the means of oppression and to provide for everything that is good. Security, health, continence, equity, courtesy, faithfulness, truth, an increase of sincerity, and so forth, are the consequence. The second is a slave to the externals of royalty, to vanity, to the servility of men, to the desire of indulgence, wherefore there is always insecurity, instability, strife, tyranny, treachery and robbery.

Royalty is a light emanating from God, a beam from the sun which lights the universe, a chapter from the registers of perfection, the receptacle of virtues. In the mouth of moderns this light is termed the divine radiance, while of old it was called the sublime halo. Without intermediary it comes from the hand of God, and at the sight of it men bow the forehead

of praise toward the ground of slavishness From possession
of it many good qualities flow —

Paternal love towards men Various people find rest in
the love of the king and from their variety no dust of
strife arises In his foresight the king will understand
the spirit of the age and shape his plans accordingly

A large heart He is not moved by the sight of anything
disagreeable nor is bad judgment in him a source of
disappointment Courage appears upon the scene
His masterful firmness secures him the power of
punishment nor does the greatness of the guilty
avert it At his hands the desires of great and small
find satisfaction nor do their claims meet with delay

A daily increasing praise of God When he performs any
action he knows that God is the real doer of it, so
that a confusion of causes can produce no disturbance

Divine Service Success in his plans will not cause him
to neglect God nor will adversity make him forget
Him and trust blindly in man He putteth the reins
of desire

Page xi line 11—

Mir mal—perhaps an officer in charge of the Privy Purse

Mir bakhshi—Paymaster of the Court

Barbegi—An officer whose duty it is to present persons at
Court

Qurbegi—An officer who bears the emblems of royalty

Mir tozak—Master of Ceremonies

Mir bahri—Harbour Master general

Mir barr—Superintendent of the Fortresses

Mir manzil—Quartermaster general of the Court

Khwasalar—Superintendent of the Kitchen

Munshi—Private Secretary

Qushbegi—Superintendent of the Falcons and Pigeons

Akhtak begi—Superintendent of the Stud

Line 30 —The list of officers in the original is as follows —

Mustaufi—Deputy Diwan

Sahib i Taujih—Accountant of the Army

Awarjah Nawis—Accountant of the Court expenditure

Mir saman—Officer in charge of Court furniture, stores etc

Nazir i Buyutat—Superintendent of the Workshops

Diwan i Buyutat—Accountant of the Workshops

Mushrif—Clerk

Waqiah Nawis—Recorder

Amil—Collector

Page xii, line 16 —Sadr—the Chief Justice and Administrator general

Lines 23-25 —“The table servants, the armour bearer, the servants in charge of sherbet and water the servant in charge of the mattresses and wardrobe’

TEXT—PART I.

Page 2, line 19.—I'timad Khan—"lord of trustworthiness." His real name was Phul Mulk. He was first a servant of Salim Shah (1545-1553), but subsequently entered the service of Akbar. That emperor appointed him a Commander of One Thousand, and set him to remodel the Imperial finances. In 1576 he was made Governor of Bhakkar; but two years later, having been guilty of much harshness in the collection of his outstanding debts, he was murdered by a certain Maqsud 'Ali. (See *Macasir ul amara*).

Line 17.—[After "enjoys prosperity" the original runs]—

"It is only when looked after, that the dwellers in towns and rural districts are able to satisfy their needs and to enjoy prosperity. It is, therefore, the duty of just kings to care for the former, and to cherish the latter class of men. If it should be said that collecting wealth, and asking for more than one requires, is regarded as contemptible by retiring and secluded persons, while dwellers in towns do the very opposite, living in a dependent position; none the less this assertion is one that proceeds merely from persons of limited view, for really both classes of men are driven to seek what they consider necessary. Poor, abstemious people take enough food and clothing to maintain the strength necessary for the acquisition of learning, and to protect them against heat and cold; while other classes think they have sufficient when they fill their treasuries, collect armies, and otherwise increase their power."

Page 5.—[The first paragraph of the article on The Mint is

a mere fragment of what constitutes a complete Aim, in the original text This runs as follows]—

“As the successful working of the mint increases the treasure, and is the source of despatch in every department, a few details shall be mentioned Dwellers in town and country perform their business according to their desire by means of money, and every one uses it to the measure of his necessities He who is free from worldly desires uses it to sustain his life, the man whose heart is bound considers it the goal of his ambitions The wants of all are satisfied by it The wise man considers it the fountain of the fulfilment of worldly and religious desires It is necessary for the preservation of the human race, since through money men obtain food and clothing You may indeed gain these two by undergoing some pain, as sowing, pasturing, reaping, cleaning, kneading, cooking, twisting, spinning, weaving, etc But these cannot well be performed without assistance, for the strength of a single man is not sufficient, and to perform them continuously would be difficult, if not impossible Further, man requires a dwelling, for keeping his provisions, which he calls his abode, whether it be tent or cave The continuity of man's existence depends upon five things father, mother, children, servants, food All require the last Moreover, since furniture and utensils are destroyed, and in no case last very long, money becomes necessary Money indeed does last long, on account of the strength and compactness of its material, and a little of it may produce much Moreover, without it travelling would be impossible For how difficult would it be to carry food for several days, to say nothing of years or months’

‘ By the goodness of God this goodly metal has come and has arrived on the shore of existence, and without the pain of man has filled the store of life By means of gold, man carries out noble plans, and even performs divine worship in a fitting manner Gold has valuable qualities, such as softness,

pleasant taste and agreeable smell Its component parts¹ are nearly equal in weight, and signs of each one of the four elements may be detected in its four properties Its colour is reminiscent of fire, its purity of air, its softness of water, its heaviness of earth Hence gold possesses many life giving emanations Nor can any of the four elements suffice to injure it in fire it does not burn, in air it does not deteriorate, in water it does not alter, though kept for ages, and in earth remains unaffected, whereby it differs from other metals Hence in the old books on philosophy which term man's intellect the greater principle, gold upon which depends the necessities of human life, is called the lesser principle Among the epithets applied to it I may mention 'the guardian of justice,' 'the universal adjuster,' for truly upon it rests the adjustment of things as well as the basis of justice To render it serviceable, God has allowed the existence of silver and brass which are additional means for the service of men Hence just kings and energetic rulers have paid much attention to these metals and have set up mints, where their properties may be studied The success of this department lies in the appointment of intelligent, zealous, and upright craftsmen, whose wisdom and perspicacity are the foundation of the world's structure "

Page 10, line 19 —Yuzbashi—a Turkish word signifying the commander of one hundred men *Ahads* of distinction were frequently promoted to this rank

Page 13 line 5 —Rasi—aqua fortis

Page 20, line 1 —The translation is "Sun, foster it, since for eternity "

Page 25, line 15 —[After the first paragraph the original goes on]—

" Mercantile affairs are mostly transacted in this country in round mohurs, rupees and dams Unprincipled men cause

¹ Gold is here considered a compound of sulphur and mercury

a good deal of mischief by rubbing the coins, and similar practices. In consequence of the damage done to the nation at large, His Majesty frequently consults experienced men, and from his knowledge of the time, issues new regulations in order to prevent such detrimental practices."

Page 25, line 19—Rajah Todarmal entered the service of Akbar in the eighteenth year of the reign, being employed to settle the affairs of Gujerat. Nine years later he was appointed Diwan of the Empire, in which office he remodelled the entire revenue system. After seven years, ill health compelled him to resign his position. He died on November 10, 1589 A D. Todarmal, despite his intimacy with Akbar, never became a convert to the "Divine Faith," but preserved his adherence to Hinduism. Abu'l Fazl, although admitting his diligence and ability, disliked him for his independence and staunch adherence to his national religion. See p. 32.

Page 26, line 4—'Azaduddaulah Amir Fathullah of Shiraz was a distinguished scholar, who enjoyed a great reputation in all branches of natural philosophy. Leaving his native town, he lived for some time at the court of 'Adil Shah at Bijapur. In 991 A D he entered the service of Akbar, and assisted Todarmal in the work of reorganizing the revenue department. He died of fever in 997. One of Akbar's most intimate associates, he placed his mechanical skill at the service of the emperor, to whose credit have been placed several inventions which were actually due to the ingenuity of the Amir.

Page 33, line 10—[In Ain 13 of the original text, there is a long preface dealing with the origin of metals, of which the following paragraph is a sample]—

"The creator, by calling into being the four elements, has raised up wonderful forms. Fire is entirely warm, dry and light, air is moderately warm, damp and light, water is moderately cold, moist and heavy, earth is entirely cold, dry

and heavy. The cause of lightness is heat, and of heaviness cold. Moistness keeps the atoms far apart, while dryness prevents their separation. By this curious arrangement four compounds come into existence: emanations from the sky, stones, plants, animals."

Page 37.—[After line 22—"forms powerful alliances abroad," the original continues]—

"As the Sovereign, by the light of wisdom, has elevated suitable persons from the obscurity of the dust, and appointed them to various offices: so also does he elevate proper persons to the degrees in the service of the harem. Men of limited vision think of impure gold, which may turn by degrees into pure gold; but the perspicuous know that his Majesty can use elixirs and the art of chemistry. Any kind of growth alters the construction of a body: copper and iron will turn to gold, tin and lead to silver; hence it is not astonishing that an excellent being changes worthless creatures into men. 'How well has been said that maxim of the wise, that the eye of the great is the elixir for producing goodness.' Such are the consequences of his Majesty's love of order, of his wisdom, insight, regard to rank, respect for others, activity, patience. Even when he is angry he does not deviate from the right path; he looks at everything with kindly feeling; weighs rumour well, and is free from all prejudice; he considers it a great blessing to have the good wishes of the people, and does not allow the intoxicating pleasures of this world to overpower his calm judgment."

Page 40, line 33—Naqqarah Khanah—a turret on which the band played

Line 34—Akasdiyah—a lofty mast with a large lamp attached. See p 43, paragraph 2.

Page 41, line 15—" . . . and it would be impossible to find quarters even for the soldiers . . . camp " is a mis-translation. It should read—"on account of the press of camp followers,

and the multitude of the troops, it would take a soldier many days to find the Emperor's tent how much worse then would it be for a stranger ? ”

Line 26-30—Maryam Mahani was the title of Akbar's mother Her name was Hamida Banu Begam

Gulbadan Begam was a sister of Humayun, and Akbar's aunt Her "*Humayun Nama*" is a work of great historical interest, and has been translated from the unique MS in the British Museum by Mrs Beveridge (Oriental Translation Fund, New Series)

Danyal—Akbar's third son

Salim—Akbar's eldest son, afterwards the Emperor Jahangir

Murad—Akbar's second son

Line 35—For "rear" read "centre"

Page 42, line 1—[After "Regulations for the Illuminations" the original proceeds]—

"His Majesty holds that it is a duty of religion and praise to worship fire and light, although ignorant and ill conditioned people count it dispraise of the Almighty, and mere fire worship The far-sighted, however, know better As the external form of the worship of the members of the "Divine Faith" is founded upon propriety, and as people think the neglect of every sort of worship abominable, there is nothing improper in the veneration of that exalted element which is the source of man's existence, and of the duration of his life nor should base thoughts enter such a matter How excellently has Shaikh Sharufuddin Munyari (a famous saint who died at the beginning of the fifteenth century A D) said—

"What can be done with a man who, when the sun has set, is not satisfied with a lamp ?" Now every flame is derived from that fountain of divine light [*the sun*] and bears the impression of its holy essence And if it were not for light and fire, we should be destitute of food and medicine, and the power

of sight would be of no avail to the eyes The fire of the sun is the torch of God's sovereignty "

Line 3 —For " 14th " read " 19th "

Page 46, line 7 —[After "conclusions of firmans" the original goes on]—

" of seal engravers I shall mention Maulana Maqsd of Herat, one of the servants of Humayun who writes well the rīqā' and nasta liq' character The astrolabe, globe, and various writing boards which he made were greatly admired by people of experience The patronage of his Majesty perfected his art Tamkin of Kabul was educated in his native place, bringing his skill to such perfection as to excite the jealousy of the preceding engraver, whose nasta'liq he surpassed Mir Dost of Kabul cuts both the rīqā' and nasta liq characters in cornelian, but does not come to the level of the preceding artists His rīqā' is better than his nasta'liq He understands assaying Maulana Ibrahim is the pupil of his brother Sharaf of Yazd in the art of cutting cornelians surpassing the ancient engravers It is impossible to distinguish his rīqā' and his nasta liq from the masterpieces of the best penmen He it was who engraved the words *la' l jalāl* upon all imperial rubies of value Maulana Ali Ahmad of Delhi according to all penmen stands unequalled as a steel engraver, so that his engravings are taken as models His nasta liq is charming, and he writes other characters well He learned the trade from his father, Shaikh Husain, he studied the manner of Maulana Maqsd and at last surpassed all "

Page 43 —[After line 15, the original continues]—

" The greatest profit is derived when the ice is brought by water, next when by carriages, and least when by bearers The inhabitants of the mountain bring it in loads and sell it in piles containing about 25 to 30 seers, at the price of 5 dams If they have to bring it far, it costs 21d 17j , if the distance be the usual one, 15d

' Out of the ten boats employed for the transport of ice, each manned by four boatmen one arrives daily at the capital. The bundles of ice contain from 6 to 12 seers, according to the temperature and a carriage brings two loads. There are 14 stages, where the horses are changed, and, in addition, one elephant is employed. Twelve pieces, of 10 to 4 seers arrive daily. By this kind of transport a seer of ice costs in winter 3*d* 21*j*, during the rains, 14*d* 20*j*, in the intermediate time, 9*d* 21½*j*, and in the average for the whole, 5*d* 15½*j*. If it is brought by bearers 28 men are required for the 14 stages. They bring every day one load containing four parcels. In the beginning of the year, the ice costs 5*d* 19½*j*, in the middle, 16*d* 2½*j*, and in the end, 19*d* 15½*j* per seer, in the average, 8½*d*. All ranks of society use ice in summer, the nobles use it throughout the whole year."

Page 49, line 18 — [The original proceeds]—

"Nor can a reason be given why he should not do so, for the equilibrium of man's nature, the strength of the body, the capability of receiving external and internal blessings, and the acquisition of worldly and religious advantages, depend ultimately on proper care being shown for appropriate food. This knowledge distinguishes man from the animals with whom, so far as mere eating is concerned, he stands upon the same level. If the Emperor did not possess so lofty a mind, so comprehensive an understanding, so universal a kindness he would have chosen the path of solitude and renounced sleep and food altogether. Even now, when he has taken on himself the temporal and spiritual leadership of the people the question 'What dinner has been prepared to-day?' never passes over his tongue."

Page 65 — [After the list of various fruits, the original goes on to give a long description of their appearances and characteristics, which occupies six pages of the Persian text in Blochmann's edition. There then follows a short account of

flavours, which is quoted as being typical of Abu-l Fazl's methods]

"As I have mentioned various kinds of food, I shall also say something on flavours. Heat renders pungent that which is agreeable; bitter, that which is greasy; brackish, that which has the proper flavour. Cold makes the first acid, the second astringent, the third tart. Astringency, when it merely affects the tongue, is called in Arabic *qabz*; and when it affects the whole frame, *'ufasat*. A moderate temperature renders the first quality greasy, the second sweet, and the last tasteless. These are the ~~fundamental~~ *fundamental* flavours. Others count four of them, the sweet, the bitter, the acid, the brackish. The flavours produced by combinations are endless in number. Some of them have names, *basha'at* is a bitter and tart flavour; and *zu'ugah* a combination of the brackish and of the bitter."

Page 76 —[After line 7 the original inserts]—

"And most other articles have got cheaper at the rate of thirty to ten, or even forty to ten. The Emperor also ordered that people of certain ranks should wear certain articles, and this was done in order to regulate the demand."

Page 78, line 34, to page 79, line 3.—[Translation of these colours is as follows from Persian text]—

"Tus, *safid-alchah* (*explained in the text*), ruby coloured, golden, orange, brass coloured, crimson, grass green, cotton flower coloured, sandalwood coloured, almond coloured, purple, grape coloured, parrot-mauve, honey coloured, brownish lilac, *Ratanmanjini* coloured, *Kasni*-flower coloured, apple green, hay-coloured, pistachio, ? , ? , bark coloured, pink, light blue, *qalgah*-flower coloured, water-coloured, oil-coloured, reddish brown, 'emerald, China-blue, violet, bright pink, mangoe coloured, musk coloured, *Fakhtah*-pigeon coloured."

Page 83 —[After the list of cloths, the original inserts an Ain—"On the Nature of Colours"—as follows]:—

"White and black are thought to be the origin of all

colours, being at once extremes and the component parts of other colours. Thus white mixed in large proportions with impure black, will yield yellow; white and black in equal proportions, red. White mixed with a large quantity of black, gives bluish green. Other colours may be formed by compounding these. And in addition it is to be remembered that cold makes a juicy body white, and a dry body black. Heat makes that which is fresh black, and that which is dry white. These two forces produce a change in the colour of a body, because bodies are both sensitive and subject to astral influence."

Pages 83-84.—[In the original, the account of the different styles of handwriting is much more detailed, but is too long for insertion in view of its slight importance.]

Page 85, line 3.—[The original runs somewhat as follows]:—

"Prose books, poetical books, Hindi, Persian, Greek, Kashmiri, Arabic, are all separately placed, and are inspected in this order. Experienced people bring them daily and read them before the Emperor, who hears every book right through. At whatever page the readers stop each day, the Emperor makes assign with his own pen, according to the number of the pages read, and rewards the readers with presents of cash, either in gold or silver, according to the number of leaves they have read. Among books of renown there are few that are not read in the Emperor's assembly-hall; there are no historical facts of past time, or curiosities of science, or interesting points of philosophy, with which the Emperor, a leader of impartial sages, is unacquainted. He does not become weary of hearing a book over again, but listens to the reading of it with more interest. The Akhlag-i-Naqiri, the Kimiya-i-Sa'adat, the Qabusnamah, the works of Sharaf of Munair, the Gulistan, the Hadiqah of Hakim Sanai, the Masnawi of Ma'nawi, the Jam i Jam, the Bostan, the Shahnamah, the collected Masnawis of Shaikh Nizami, the works of Khusrau and Maulana

Jami, the Diwans of Khagani, Anwari, and several works on history, are continually read out to the Emperor. Philologists are constantly engaged in translating Hindi, Greek, Arabic and Persian books into other languages. Thus, a part of the *Zaich i Jadid i Mirzai* was translated under the superintendence of Amir Fathullah of Shiraz; and also the *Kishn-joshi*, the *Gangadhar*, the *Mahesh Mahanand*,¹ from Hindi into Persian, according to the interpretation of the Author of this book. The *Mahabharat*, which belongs to the ancient books of Hindustan has also been translated from Hindi into Persian under the directions of ~~Najib~~ Khan, Maulana 'Abdul Qadir of Badaon, and Shaikh Sultan of Thanesar. The book contains nearly 100,000 verses. The Emperor calls this ancient history the Book of the Wars. Similarly the learned men translated into Persian the *Ramayana*, likewise a book of ancient Hindustan, which contains the life of Ram Chandra, but is full of interesting points of philosophy. Haji Ibrahim of Sirhind translated into Persian the *Atharban*, which, according to the Hindus, is one of the four Divine books. The *Lilawati*, which is one of the most excellent works written by Indian mathematicians on Arithmetic, lost its Hindu veil, and received a Persian dress from the hands of my elder brother, Shaikh 'Abdul Faiz-i-Faizi. At the Emperor's command, Mukammal Khan of Gujrat translated into Persian the *Tajak*, a famous work on Astronomy. The *Memoirs of Babur*, the Conqueror of the world, which may be called a code of practical wisdom, have been translated from Turkish into Persian by Mirza Abdurrahim Khan, the present Commander-in-Chief. The history of Kashmir, which extends over the last 4000 years, has been translated from Kashmiri into Persian by Maulana Shah Muhammed of Shahabad. The *Mu'jam ul Buldan*, an excellent geographical work, has been translated from Arabic into Persian by several Arabic scholars, as Mulla Ahmad of

¹ or Mohesh and Mahanand.

That'bah, Qasim Beg, Shaikh Munawwar and others The Haribans, a book containing the life of Krishna, was translated into Persian by Maulana Sheri By order of the Emperor, the Author of this present work composed a new version of the Kalilah Damnah, and published it under the title of 'Ayar Damsh The original is a masterpiece of practical wisdom, but is full of rhetorical difficulties, and though Naqrullah i Mustaufi and Maulana Husain i Waiz had translated it into Persian, their style is full of unusual metaphors and difficult words The Hindi story of the Love of Nal and Daman, which melts the heart of feeling readers, has been translated by my brother Shaikh Faizi i Faizi, into the masnawi metre of the Laili Majnun, and is now known everywhere under the title of Nal Daman As the Emperor has become acquainted with the treasure of history, he ordered several learned men to compose a book containing the events which have taken place in The Seven Climes for the last thousand years Naqib Khan, and several others, commenced this history A large portion was subsequently added by Mulla Ahmad of That'bah, and the whole was concluded by Jafar Beg, and Aqaf Khan The introduction is composed by myself The work is called Tarikh i Alfi."

Page 87, line 22 —[After the list of painters, the original proceeds]—

"It would take me too long to describe the excellencies of each I can only pluck one ear from every sheaf I have to notice that the observing of the figures of objects and the making of likenesses of them, which are often looked upon as an idle occupation, are, for a well regulated mind, a source of wisdom, and an antidote against the poison of ignorance Bigoted followers of the letter of the Law are hostile to the art of painting, but their eyes now see the truth One day at a private gathering of friends, the Emperor, who had conferred on several the honour of approaching him, remarked "There

are many that dislike painting; but such men I condemn. It appears to me that the painter has quite exceptional means of recognizing God: for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in designing its limbs, one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the Giver of Life. Thus he will increase knowledge.

"The great encouragement, etc. . . ."

Page 88.—[After line 8, "The Arsenal": the original text continues]—

"The order of the *Honzaib*, the efficiency of the Army, the welfare of the country, are intimately connected with the state of this department, hence the Emperor gives it every attention, and looks minutely into its working order. He introduces all sorts of new methods, and studies their applicability to practical purposes. Thus a plated armour was brought before him, and set up as a target; but no bullet was so powerful as to make an impression on it. A sufficient number of such armours has been made so as to supply whole armies. The Emperor looks into the price of such as are sold in the bazaars.

Page 89, lines 5 and 6.—[Blochmann translates as follows]—

"besides, they take up lances, spears, axes, pointed axes, *pyazi* war-clubs, sticks, bullet bows, pestles, and a footstool, all properly arranged."

Pages 95-100.—[This account of the Elephant stables is much compressed. The original text occupies 5½ closely printed pages in Blochmann's edition. Many curious details are inserted, for example]—

"I have heard the following story from the Emperor: Once a wild young one had fallen into a pit. As night approached, we did not care to pull it out immediately, and left it; but when we came next morning near the place, we saw that some wild elephants had filled the pit with broken timber

and grass, and so had pulled out the younger one. Again; 'once a female elephant played us a trick. She feigned to be dead. We passed her and went on; but when we returned at night, we saw no trace left of her.' "

[The original is, however, too lengthy to be inserted.]

Page 117.—"Regulations for the Dagh."—[The original is slightly different.]—

"In order to prevent fraudulent exchanges, and to remove the stamp of doubtful ownership, horses were for some time marked with the word 'sight,' or sometimes with the word 'mark,' and sometimes with the numeral (۷). Every horse received by government had the mark burnt upon the right cheek, and those that were returned, on the left side. Sometimes, in the case of Iraqi and Mujanna horses, they branded the price in numerals on the right cheek, and in the case of Turki and Arab horses, on the left. Nowadays the horses of every stable are distinguished by their price in numerals. Thus, a horse of ten mohurs is marked with the numeral (۱۰), those of twenty mohurs have a (۲۰), and so forth. When horses, at the time of the musters, are put into a higher or lower grade, the old brand is removed."

[The branding of horses, says Blochmann, was revived in A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573), when Shahbaz had been appointed Mir Bakshi. He followed the regulations of Alauddin Khilji and Sher Shah.]

Page 132, line 4 —[After the paragraph-heading, the original continues]—

"The success of the three branches of Government, and the fulfilment of the wishes of the subjects, whether great or small, depend upon the manner in which a king spends his time. The care with which the Emperor guards over his motives, and watches over his emotions, bears on its face the sign of the infinite and the stamp of immortality. Though thousands of important matters occupy, at one and the same

time, his attention, they do not stir up the dust of confusion in the temple of his mind, nor do they allow the cloud of dismay to settle on the vigour of his mental powers, or the habitual earnestness with which he contemplates the charms of God's world "

Line 35 —[After "reproach "]—

" But the great object of his life is the acquisition of that sound morality, the sublime loftiness of which captivates the heart of thinking sages, and silences the taunts of zealots and sectarians Knowing the value of a lifetime, he never wastes a moment, nor does he omit any necessary duty, so that in view of his upright intentions, every action of his life may be considered an adoration of God It is beyond my power to describe in adequate terms the Emperor's devotions "

Page 133, line 22 —[After "greater light" the original inserts]—

" But why should I speak of the mysterious blessings of the sun, or of the transfer of his greater light to lamps ? Should I not rather dwell on the perverseness of those weak minded zealots, who with much concern, talk of His Majesty's religion as of a deification of the Sun, and the introduction of fire worship ? But I shall dismiss them with a smile "

Page 134, line 5 —[After "diminution "]—

" The Emperor often makes extremely shrewd remarks, or starts a fitting subject for conversation "

Lines 17-18 —[After "compliments "]—

" During this time various matters of worldly and religious import are brought to the notice of the Emperor As soon as these are settled he returns to his private apartments and reposes a little The good habits of the Emperor are so numerous that I cannot adequately describe them If I were to compile dictionaries on this subject, they would not be exhaustive "

Page 136.—[Before the article entitled "of Spiritual Guidance," the original inserts two short articles: the second of which seems misplaced]—

(I.) "Just as spiritual leadership requires a regulated mind, capable of controlling covetousness and wrath, so does political leadership depend upon an external order of things, on the regulation of the difference among men in rank, and the power of liberality. If the king possesses a cultivated mind, his position as the spiritual leader of the nation will be in harmony with his temporal office; and the performance of each of his political duties will be equivalent to an adoration of God. Should any one search for an example, I would point to the practice of the Emperor, which will be found to exhibit that fortunate harmony of motives, in the contemplation of which the searcher increases his personal knowledge and is led to worship this my ideal of kingship.

"When the Emperor seats himself upon the throne, all that are present perform the *Kornish*, and then remain standing in their places, according to their rank, with their arms folded, partaking of the elixir of life in the light of the imperial countenance, and enjoying everlasting happiness in standing ready for any service. The eldest prince places himself, when standing, at a distance of one to four yards from the throne, or, when sitting, at a distance of from two to eight. The second prince stands from one and a half to six yards from the throne, and sits from three to twelve. So also the third; but sometimes he is admitted to a nearer position than the second prince, and at other times both stand together at the same distance. But the Emperor generally places the younger princes affectionately nearer. Then come the Elect of the highest rank, who are worthy of the spiritual guidance of the Emperor, at a distance of three to fifteen yards, and in sitting, from five to twenty. After this follow the senior *grandees* from three and a half yards, and then the other *grandees*, from ten or twelve

and a half yards from the throne. All others stand to one side. One or two attendants stand nearer than all."

(II.) The Muster of Men.

"The business which the Emperor gets through every day is most multifarious, and I shall only describe such affairs as continually recur. A large number of men are introduced on these days for which an Assembly of Expenditure has been announced. Their merits are examined, ~~and~~ the coin of wisdom passes from hand to hand. Some take a burden from their hearts by expressing a wish to be enrolled among the members of the Divine Faith; others want medicines for their diseases. Some pray the Emperor to remove a religious doubt; others again seek his advice for settling a worldly matter. Such requests are innumerable, and I shall confine myself to the most urgent cases. The salaries of a large number of men, from Turan and Iran, Turkey and Europe, Hindustan and Kashmir, are fixed by proper officers in the manner described below, and the men are taken by the paymasters before the Emperor. Formerly it was the custom to come with a horse and accoutrements, but now only men appointed to the post of *Ahadi* bring a horse. The salary as proposed by the officers who bring them is then increased or decreased. Generally it is increased, for the market of the Emperor's liberality is never dull. The number of men brought before him depends on the number of men available. On Monday are mustered all such horsemen as were left from the previous week. In order to increase the army and the zeal of the officers, the Emperor gives two *dams* for every horseman to the man who brings him."

In the same manner, several writers introduce such as are fit to be *ahadis*. The Emperor in this case always increases the stipulated salary. As it is not customary for every *ahadi* to buy his own horse, the Emperor has ordered that when an *ahadi* has recently died, his horses are to be brought to the

muster, and handed over to the newly-appointed *ahadis*. These horses are either given as presents, or the price is charged against monthly salaries

On such occasions also Senior Grandees, and other Amirs, introduce any of their friends, for whom they may solicit appointments. The Emperor then fixes the salary of the candidates according to circumstances, but appointments under Rs. 50 *per mensem* are rarely asked for in this manner.

In these assemblies are made appointments to the Imperial workshops, and the salaries are fixed.

Page 143.—[Blochmann's note is of some assistance in elucidating the curious institution of the Pagosht—

"The object . . . was to determine the amount of the fines which Akbar could justly inflict on the officers in charge of the animals belonging to the Court, if the condition of the animals did not correspond to his expectations. The daily quanta of food supplied to the animals had been fixed by minute rules, and the several store-keepers entered into their day-books the quantum daily given to each animal. These day-books were produced at the musters, and special officers measured the fatness of each animal, and compared it with the food it had been receiving since the last muster, as shown in the day-book. Akbar determined a maximum fatness (A), which corresponded to a maximum quantity of daily food (a). Similarly, he determined a fatness (B) resulting from a daily quantity of food (b), though Abu'l Fazl does not specify how this was done.* The quantities A, B and C were then divided into several fractions or degrees, as $\frac{8A}{8}$, $\frac{7A}{8}$, $\frac{6A}{8}$. Thus in the case of elephants, the maximum fatness (A) was divided into 13 degrees."]

Page 146 "Regulations for Buildings"—[This is much fuller in the original, which runs as follows].—

"Regulations for housebuilding in general are necessary;

they are required for the comfort of the army, and are a source of splendour for the government. People who are worldly minded will collect in towns, without which there would be no progress. Hence the Emperor plans splendid edifices, and dresses the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay. Thus mighty fortresses have been raised, which protect the timid, frighten the rebellious, and please the obedient. Pleasant villas and imposing towers have also been constructed. They afford excellent protection against cold and rain, provide for the comforts of the princesses of the harem, and conduce to the dignity necessitated by worldly dominion. Everywhere also Sarais have been built, which are the comfort of travellers and the refuge of poor strangers. Many tanks and wells are dug for the benefit of men and the improvement of the soil. Schools and churches are being founded and the triumphal arch of knowledge is newly adorned. The Emperor has inquired into every detail of this department, which is so difficult to manage, and is so expensive. He has passed new regulations, kindled the lamp of honesty, and put a stock of practical knowledge into the hands of simple and inexperienced men."

Page 156 —[After line 7 (auxiliaries) read as follows] —

"At present, those troopers are preferred whose horses are marked with the Imperial brand. This class of soldiers is superior to others. His Majesty's chief object is to prevent the soldiers from borrowing horses, or exchanging them for worse ones, and to make them take care of the Imperial horses. He knows that avarice makes men so short sighted, that they look upon loss as gain. In the beginning of the present reign when the Emperor was still under tutelage, many of his servants were given to dishonest practices, lived without check, and indulged dishonourably in the comforts of married life. Base, greedy men sold their horses, and were content to serve as infantry, or instead of a superior horse bought a jade that

looked like an ass. They were boastful in their dishonesty and greediness of pay; sometimes even they grumbled and rebelled. Hence the Emperor had to introduce the Descriptive Roll system, and to make the issue of pay dependent upon the inspection of these Rolls. In a short time much lawlessness was stopped, and the whole military system regenerated. But at that time the regulations regarding the Imperial brand were not issued; for the Emperor had adopted the advice of some inexperienced men, who regarded the branding of an animal as cruelty. Hence other vicious practices were adopted by greedy men, who cannot distinguish good from bad, who respect neither themselves nor their master, who think to promote a cause by ruining it, thus acting against their own interests. This led to much inefficiency in the army. Horse borrowing was universal. The Emperor, therefore, made the branding of horses compulsory, like the Descriptive Roll system. Easy-going idlers thus passed through a school of discipline, and became worthy men; while self-seeking, base fellows were taught honour and manliness. The unfeeling and avaricious learned the luxury of magnanimity, so that the army became a freshly-watered garden. Even for the treasury the new regulations were beneficial. Such are the results attained by knowledge and wisdom. Although branding a horse may inflict pain, when viewed from a higher point, it is the cause of much satisfaction to the wise."

Pages 160-163 — [This table, though it may represent Akbar's scheme, appears to be a complete theoretical classification, rather than a list of existing Mançabs. The best MSS. give altogether 33 classes of Mançabs: namely, the three commands of the three princes (10,000 to 7000), and the thirty commands from 5000 to 10. The MSS. from which Gladwin worked seem to have omitted the last ten classes (150 to 10), of which the better texts give only the numbers, and the list on pages 164-169 is accordingly incomplete. In the original,

this list appears immediately after the chapter on card games, that is to say, it would come after page 217 in the present volume. Abu'l Fazl tells us that the names of Mançabdars above the rank of 500 includes those who were dead, as well as living, in the 40th year of Akbar's reign, but the list of commanders from 500 to 200 only contains such as were alive in that year.

For a fuller account of these grantees, see pages 308-327 of Blochmann's translation, Volume 2 and the *Ma'asir ul Amara* (Bibliotheca Indica). A translation of the latter is now being issued in the same series.

In the list which follows, a number of minor personages have been passed over as being too insignificant to demand the attention of the ordinary student.

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- 1 Sultan Selim, eldest surviving son of the Emperor, born at Fatbpur Sikri, 17th Rabi I, 977. He was called Selim after Shaikh Selim Chishti, in whose house he was born. He succeeded to the throne as the Emperor Jahangir. (See Blochmann's article in *Calcutta Review*, October, 1869.)
2. Sultan Murad, second surviving son of the Emperor, was born 3rd Muharram, 978, and died of delirium tremens in 1006. We are told he was of a livid complexion, thin and tall.
3. Sultan Danyal was born 10th Jumada I, 979, and, like Murad, died of delirium tremens in 1013. He married the daughter of Quli Khan, and later, a daughter of Mirza Abdurrahim Khan Khanan. He left three sons and four daughters. He was good looking and cultured.
4. Sultan Khusru, eldest son of Selim, born 24th Amurdad, 995, died 18th Isfandiarmuz, 1031, under suspicious circumstances. He was buried in the Khusrubagh at Allahabad.
5. Mirza Suleiman was son of Khan Mirza, son of Sultan Mahmud, son of Abu Said. He was born in 920 and died in 997. He was ruler of Badakhshan under Humayun and Akbar.
6. Mirza Ibrahim, his son, was killed in battle, and appears

among the grandees of Akbar's Court only by the rules of etiquette

- 7 Mirza Shahrukh, son of Mirza Ibrahim. He was governor of Malwa under Akbar (whose daughter he married) and distinguished himself in the Deccan wars. He died in 1016. It is related of him that when he had been 20 years in India, he could not speak a word of Hindi.
- 8 Mirza Muzaffar Husain was son of Bahram Mirza, son of Shah Ismail ~~Shah~~ Safawi. He had received Kandahar from Shah Khudabandah of Persia, but in 1003 was induced to surrender it to Akbar, receiving in exchange Sambhal as a jagir. He disliked India, however, and died of vexation in 1008.
- 10 Bairam Khan had fought at Qanauj (10th Muharram, 947) when 16 years old, and afterwards went into exile, refusing the overtures of Sher Shah. He accompanied Humayun to Persia, assisted in the reconquest of India, and in 963 was appointed guardian to Akbar. He fell from power owing to the intrigues of his *protégé* Pir Muhammed, and was murdered on his way to Mecca, 14th Jumada 968.
- 11 Kunim Khan, son of Bairam Beg, was one of the grandees of Humayun's court. He was left as Governor of Kabul when that emperor invaded India. He incited Adham Khan to murder Atgah Khan in the seventh year of Akbar's reign. In 982 he was appointed Governor of Behar, dying in 983.
- 12 Tardi Beg Khan accompanied Humayun into exile, but was a selfish and faithless companion. He distinguished himself, however, in the conquest of India, and received Mewat as jagir. He was appointed Governor of Delhi in 963 but rashly evacuated the town on the approach of Hemu. Bairam, who did not like him, had him murdered on suspicion of treachery—an act which made him distrusted by the other nobles.
- 13 Khan Zaman i Shaibani. His own name was Ali Quli Khan. Together with his father, Haidar Sultan, and his brother,

Bahadur Khan, he joined Humayun on his return to Persia. He defeated Hemu at Panipat, and received the title Khan Zaman. He held first Sambhal and then Jaunpur. Being dissatisfied he rebelled frequently against Akbar, and after being pardoned several times, was at length attacked, defeated, and killed on the 1st Zi Hajjah, 974.

- 14 **Abdullah Khan Uzbek** After the death of Pir Muhammad, he was sent to reconquer Malwah from Baz Bahadur. He "reigned in Mandu like a king," and Akbar found it necessary to expel him. He died at Jaunpur.
- 15 **Shamsuddin Muhammad Atgah Khan** was a common soldier in the service of Humayun, whose life he saved after the battle of Qanauf. His wife became wet nurse to Prince Akbar, and he afterwards received the title of Atgah (fosterfather). He was appointed Governor of the Panjab, but excited the jealousy of Mun'im Khan, who instigated Adham (see No. 19) to kill him 12th Ramazan, 969.
- 16 **Khan i Kalan, Mir Muhammad**, was the elder brother of Atgah Khan, and rose to eminence under Akbar. He was governor of the Panjab, and afterwards held Sambhal in jagir. He assisted Akbar in the conquest of Gujarat and died in 983.
- 17 **Mirza Sharuffuddin Husaln** was son of Khwaja Mu'im, a rich but avaricious man. Quarrelling with his father, he entered Akbar's service, marrying the Emperor's sister Bakshi Banu Begam. He joined the rebellion of the Mirzas, was captured, and put in charge of the Governor of Bengal, Muzaffar Khan. He escaped, but was subsequently poisoned in 988.
- 18 **Yusuf Muhammad Khan**, foster brother of Akbar and eldest son of Atgah Khan. He distinguished himself in the several rebellions of Khan Zaman, and died in 973.
- 19 **Adham Khan** was the son of Maham, one of Akbar's nurses (Anagah). After Bairam's fall he was sent to Malwah. His sudden fortune turned his head, and being jealous of Atgah Khan, he murdered him in

969, being himself killed by Akbar's orders immediately afterwards.

- 20 Pir Muhammad Khan attached himself to Bairam, but offended his patron by his arrogance. He was forced to go on a pilgrimage, but returned on Bairam's fall, and was appointed with Adham Khan to Malwah. He defeated Baz Bahadur in 969, but was defeated and killed when returning from a successful raid in Burhanpur.
- 21 Khan i Azam Mirza Anz Kokah, son of Atgah Khan. He held a series of high positions under Akbar, and was a party to the rebellion of Khusrû in the reign of Jahangir, but was pardoned, and subsequently sent as Governor to the Deccan. He died in 1033.
- 22 Bahadur Khan i Shalbani was younger brother of Khan Zaman. He took an active part in the various rebellions of his brother, and was killed by Akbar's orders.
- 23 Rajah Bihari Mall was the son of Prithiraj Kachhwaha and the first Rajput to join Akbar's court. His family seat was Amber. Akbar married his daughter, and took three of his sons into service.
- 24 Khan Jahan Hasain Quli Khan was the son of Bairam Khan's sister. After the fall of the Khan Zaman he attached himself to Akbar. He was given the title of Khan Jahan for his services in suppressing the rebellion of the Mirzas in 960. He was appointed to command in Bengal, and in 984 he defeated and killed the king Daud Khan. He died in 986.
- 25 Said Khan was a member of a family that had long been in the service of the house of Timur. He rose to the highest honours under Akbar, being successively Governor of Multan, Subahdar of the Panjab, and Governor of Bengal. He died at the beginning of Jahangir's reign.
- 26 Shihab Khan was a relation of Maham Anagah, and instrumental in Bairam's fall. He was Governor of Malwah, of Gujrat, and again of Malwah, dying in 999.
- 27 Rajah Bhagwan Das was son of Rajah Bihari Mall. He saved Akbar's life in the 980 fight with Ibrahim Hasain

Mirza He was afterwards Governor of the Panjab, and his daughter married Prince Selim He died in 998

- 28 Qutbuddin Khan, youngest brother of Atgah Khan. He exercised authority first in the Panjab and afterwards at Malwah. In 991, when Muzaffar of Gujrat tried to make himself independent, he behaved with great timidity, was captured by the rebels, and executed
- 29 Khan Khanan Mirza Abdurrahim, son of Bayram Khan, distinguished himself in the wars with Gujrat, defeating Sultan Muzaffar in the battles of Sarkaj and Nadot For these victories he was given the title Khan Khanan, and to avoid confusion, the historians generally call him Mirza Khan Khanan. He took an important part in the conquest of Sindh and of the Deccan in Akbar's reign; but in the latter quarter was not so successful in the reign of Jahangir In 1031 he fell into disfavour through court intrigues, but was restored subsequently to all his honours He died in 1036 He translated Babur's Memoirs from Turka into Persian
- 30 Rajah Man Singh, son of Bhagwan Das, had joined Akbar along with Bihari Mall. In 984 he won the battle of Gogandah against Rana Kika He was appointed to govern Kabul, and afterwards took a leading share in the conquest of Bengal. On Akbar's death, he played some part in the conspiracy to set aside Jahangir, but was prudently pardoned by that Emperor. He died in the ninth year of the reign.
34. Zain Khan commanded for Akbar against the Yusufzais, and led the rearguard on the disastrous day when Rajah Bir Bar and 500 officers were slain He subsequently became Governor of Kabul and Prince Selim married his daughter In 1010 he died from excessive drinking
- 35 Mirza Yusuf Khan was a Sayyid of Mashhad, and a favourite of Akbar In 995 he was sent as ruler to Kashmir, where he was extremely popular and successful. An attempt to increase the revenue charge led to a revolt, at the head of which Mirza Yusuf Khan declined to place himself He

was afterwards placed at the head of the artillery bureau, and saw much service in the Deccan. He died in 1010

- 36 Mahdi Qasim Khan served first under Mirza Askari, but joined Humayun after the return from Persia. He was sent to suppress the rebellion of Khan Zaman (13), but instead, went to Mecca. He was afterwards restored to favour by Akbar, and given Lakhnau
- 37 Muzaffar Khan I Terbatl was Bairam's *duwan*, and afterwards *duwan* of the empire, with Rajah Todar Mall as his subordinate. The two quarrelled perpetually, as Badaoni tells us. Muzaffar Khan was subsequently made Governor of Bengal where his strictness drove some of the jagirdars to revolt and murder him (988)
- 39 Rajah Todar Mall [see page 10] entered Akbar's service at a very early period. His first important post was in 981 when he was left to assess Gujrat. He behaved with great bravery in the victory of Daud Khan, and after settling financial matters in Bengal and Orissa went to court. He remained faithful through the Bengal rebellion, and in 990 was made *duwan* or *vakil*. During this year he introduced his famous revenue reforms, and ordered the Government accounts to be written in Persian, thereby making the study of this language necessary for its pecuniary advantages. He died in 998
- 40 Muhammed Qasim Khan was a rich landowner of Nishapur, and served under Bairam Khan in India. He distinguished himself in the battle of Panipat. On the fall of Bairam, he joined Akbar and received Multan as jagir
- 41 Vazir Khan, brother of Abdul Majid, Aḥaf Khan. He was sent to Gujrat to govern in the name of Aziz Kokah but was not successful. He was deposed and recalled to court. In 994 he was appointed Subahdar of Bengal and in the next year he died
- 42 Qulij Khan is first mentioned in the 17th year of Akbar's reign, when he was made Governor of Surat. Six years later he was sent to Gujrat. He was twice appointed

dewan, and afterwards became Governor of Kabul and of the Panjab. He died in 1035.

43. Cadiq Khan was the son of Muhammed Baqir, vazir to the ruler of Khurasan. He entered Bairam's service, and after his death was made an amir. He became Governor of Garha, and subsequently assisted in repressing the revolt of Bengal. He died in 1005, being known as one of the best officers Akbar had.
44. Rai Rai Singh was son of Rai Kalyan Mall (93), one of the Rathors of Bikanir. Rai Singh distinguished himself in action against the Mirzas. He also served in the Panjab and in Bengal. After Akbar's death, Rai Singh was put in charge of Jahangir's harem during the pursuit of Khosru, but retired without orders to Bikanir. He died in 1021.
46. Ismail Quli Khan was brother of Khan Jahan (24). He served against the Baluchis and the Yusufzais, being subsequently made Governor of Gujrat. He was poisoned by his women, who resented his petty tyranny.
47. Mirza Jani Beg was a descendant of Chingiz Khan, and ruler of Sindh. After defending the country bravely, he had to yield to the Khan Khanan, and in 1001 he paid his respects to Akbar at Labor. He was much liked for his pleasing manners and common sense. He died in 1008.
48. Iskandar Khan became Governor of Agra after the restoration, and after joining Tardi Beg at Delhi was defeated by Hemu. For his bravery in the battle of Panipat he was entitled Khan Alam. He rebelled with Khan Zaman and Bahadur, but was pardoned, dying at his *tuyal* of Lakhnau in 980.
49. Acaf Khan Abdul Majid, brother of Vazir Khan (41). At the time of Bairam's rebellion Acaf, who had been in Humayun's service, was appointed Governor of Delhi. He planned the famous expedition to Gondwanah in which the heroic Durgawati met her death. The immense spoils he gained led him to rebel, but subsequently he returned

to his loyalty, and his bravery in the last struggle with Khan Zaman (13) secured his pardon. He was subsequently made Governor of Chittor

50. Majnun Khan i Qaqshul Had been a grandee of Humayun, and on Akbar's succession was made Jagirdar of Manikpur. He accompanied Mun'im Khan on his expeditions to Gorakhpur and Bengal, conquering by himself the northern part of the latter country and gaining thereby immense wealth
51. Shuja'at Khan, Muqhl i Arab, was son of Tardi Beg's sister (12). When Humayun fled to Persia, he joined Mirza Ashari, but subsequently repented. He accompanied Akbar on the forced march to Ahmadabad, and met his death in the 988 troubles in Bengal
53. Hasain Khan, nephew of Mahdi Qasim Khan, and "the Bayard and Don Quixote of Akbar's reign." He was in Bairam's service, remaining faithful to the last. He entered Akbar's service, and was also faithful to him in the rebellion of the Mirzas. He was not a favourite of the Emperor, owing to his intolerance to Hindus. He died in 983 from a wound received in an expedition against Basantpur. He was always poor, though his servants lived in affluence, and he was a patron of literary men, especially Badaoni.
54. Murad Khan served in Malwa against the Mirzas, and in Bengal under Mun'im Khan. He was made Governor of Jellalore, and afterwards appointed to Fatchabad. He remained loyal during the great military revolt of 988 but died immediately after its outbreak.
55. Haji Muhammad Khan was in the service of Bairam, much trusted. He was made a Khan after Bairam's fall, and was rapidly promoted. He served in almost every campaign, and received the Sirkar of Mandu. He died in 983, soon after the death of his leader Mun'im Khan
56. Afzal Khan was an accountant of Humayun's treasury, and after his return to India was made Mir Bakhshi. His detachment gave way before Hemu's charge and helped

to ensure the defeat of Tardā Beg. He was imprisoned, and did not find favour until after Bairam's fall.

- 57 Shabbeg Khan was Governor of Peshawar in the service of Akbar's brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim. He distinguished himself in the wars against the Yusufzais, and was made Governor of Qandahar. On the death of Akbar he bravely held the town against Husain Khan Shamlu, the Persian Governor of Herat. For this Jehangir gave him the title of Khan Dauran.

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- 59 Qasim Khan came over to Humayun when Mirza Kamran was besieged in Kabul. He afterwards superintended the building of the fort at Agra. He was for some time Governor of Kashmir, and then Kabul. He was murdered in 1002.
- 60 Baqi Khan, elder brother of Adham Khan (19). He took part in the war against Iskandar Khan and Bahadur Khan (972-3), and was partly responsible for the defeat of Khairabad, owing to his hatred of Mu'izzul Mulk and Rajah Todar Mall.
- 61 Mir Mu'izzul Mulk was a Musawi Sayyid. He commanded a detachment sent by Akbar against Bahadur and Iskandar Khan Uzbek in 973, and was defeated as related above through the treachery of Baqi Khan. He was drowned in 987, as he was being sent to the Emperor under suspicion of revolt.
63. Sharif Khan, brother of Atgah Khan, first held a *tuyal* in the Panjab, and then was appointed to the Surkar of Qanauj. He governed Malwa, served against Muzaffar, and was finally made Governor of Ghaznin.
- 65 Khwajah Jalaluddin Mahmud Bujuq had been in the service of Mirza Askari, and had subsequently joined Humayun. Akbar appointed him to Ghaznin, but Mun'im Khan, who hated him, stirred up trouble and murdered him.
- 67 Itimad Khan, of Gujrat, was a Hindu servant of Sultan Mahmud, and after having avenged his master's murder in 961, administered the State and continued at the head

of the Government. He raised two puppet princes to the throne, but great confusion having broken out through the jealousy of the nobles he fled to Akbar. After the conquest of Gujrat he was put in possession of Baroda and Champanir, but incurred the charge of treason and was imprisoned. He was released, and sent to govern Gujrat itself. He died in 995.

- 69 Jaganrath, son of Rajah Bihari Mall generally served with 'Man Singh. He distinguished himself in the wars with Rana Pratap of Maiwar, and in the Deccan. He served with Prince Parwiz in Jehangir's first year.
- 70 Makhsus Khan, younger brother of Said Khan (25), served under Shahbaz Khan (80), against 'Gajpati, and subsequently went with Murad to Kabul. He was alive in the beginning of Jehangir's reign.
71. Abu' l Fazl, the author of the book. *See* Introduction.
- 72 Ismail Khan Duldai was a grandee of Babur and Humayun, who had won renown both as a warrior and a counsellor. He accompanied Humayun on the march to India, and was afterwards sent to Lahore.
74. Ashraf Khan Mir Munshi was a renowned calligrapher, and had received from Humayun the title of Mir Munshi. He was imprisoned by Bairam but escaped to Mecca. He was well received on his return by Akbar, and died in 983.
- 75 Sayyid Mahmud of Barha left the Afghans and came over to Akbar. He served Bairam and after his fall got a jagir near Delhi. He served in Gujerat with much bravery and died in 981. The court admired his bravery, and laughed at his rustic manners.
76. Abdullah Khan Mughal (to be distinguished from No. 14). Akbar married his daughter and because Abdullah's sister had married Kamran, Bairam was displeased at the alliance. Abdullah helped to defeat Bairam's friends when the rebellion took place.
- 77 Shalkh Muhammad i Bukhari was given charge of Mun i Chishti's tomb by Akbar, who liked him for his wisdom.

and faithfulness He fell fighting against the Mirzas near Patan (Ramazan 980)

- 78 Sayyid Hamid I Bukhari was a Gujarati, who went over to Akbar in 980 He served against the Baluchis and in Kabul He held Peshawur as a jagir, but his agent oppressed the inhabitants, and Hamid was murdered in their uprising in 993
- 79 Dastam Khan was a playfellow of Akbar He served in the battle of Patan, and in 984-5 was appointed to the Subah of Ajmir, where his administration was excellent He died from wounds received in maintaining order against some rebellious Kachhwahabs in 988
- 80 Shahbaz Khan I Kambu was proverbial for his rigid piety and enormous wealth In 979 he became Mir Bakhshi, in 984 was sent on successful expeditions against Jodhpur and Gajpati He took a distinguished part in the campaigns against Rana Partab and against the Bengal rebels He held a variety of high commands and died in 1008
- 83 Abdul Matlab Khan, son of Shah Budagh Khan (52), served with his father against Iskandar and Bahadur He was present at the battles of Khairabad and Patan He was sent against the Afghan rebel Jalalah Tarika, but had no share in the victory
- 85 Rajah Bir Bar was Akbar's favourite minstrel, the hero of many famous stories He was often sent on expeditions, but spent most of his time at court, where he was a very prominent figure He was killed in the disastrous expedition against the Yusufzais, and Akbar felt his loss cruelly There are many references to him in the histories of the time
- 89 Rajah Ram Chand Baghelah was Rajah of Bhat h, and patron of the famous minstrel Tansin He submitted to Akbar, and after some delay came to court in 991
- 90 Lashkar Khan, Muhammad Husain of Khurasan, was Mir Bakhshi and Mir Arz He was severely wounded at the battle of Talaroi, and died soon after
- 91 Sayyid Ahmad of Barha served in Gujarat, and was

afterwards appointed governor of Patan. He served under Shahbaz Khan in the expedition to Siwanah. He died in 935

92. Kakar Ali Khan I Chishti came with Humayun to Hindustan. He was present at the battles of Khairabad and Samal (Shahban 930). He was killed in the siege of Patna.

93. Rai Kalyan Mall was Zemindar of Bikanur, and father of •Rai Singh (44).

95. Shah Muhammad Khan of Qalat was a friend of Bairam, who left Qandhar in his hands. He was obliged to call in Shah Tahmasp to defeat Bahadur Khan of Dawar, but when free from danger declined to cede the town to the Persians. But Akbar ordered him to give it up, as had been Humayun's intention. Thus he did, and came to India in 965, when he rose rapidly. He was made Governor of Kotha, and was wounded in the battle of Patan.

96. Rai Surjan Hada was at first in the service of the Rana, and believing himself safe behind the walls of Rantanbhur, defied the Mughals, but after the fall of Chitor was obliged to sue for peace. He was made Governor of Gadha Ketangah after the annexation of Rantanbhur in 976. He had been dead for some time in 1001.

97. Shaham Khan Jalair was made an Amir by Akbar. He served against Khan Zaman and in the Bengal wars. In 995 he was made Governor of Gadha, and subsequently of Delhi. He died in 1009.

98. Asaf Khan Jafar Beg, came to India in 985, and was presented to Akbar. He was captured by the Bengal rebels, but escaped, and was made Mir Bakhshi and subsequently Governor of Lahore. After the rebellion of Selim, Asaf was given Bihar. In 1015, after the accession of Jehangir, he was made Wakil. He died in 1021. He was one of the best poets of Akbar's age.

99. Shaikh Farid I Bukhari entered Akbar's service at an early age, and rose to be Mir Bakhshi. He took a decided part in supporting Jehangir, and defeated Khosru

at Bhaironwal (1014). He afterwards became Governor of the Panjab, dying in 1020

- 102 Mihtar Khan, Anisuddin, was Humayun's treasurer on the flight to Persia and afterwards returned with him. He was put in charge of Rantanbhur after its conquest. He died in 1017
103. Rai Durga Sisodia belonged to a Rampur family. He distinguished himself in the wars of Gujerat and the Deccan serving for upwards of 40 years. He died in 1015
- 104 Madhu Singh was son of Rajah Bhagwan Das, he distinguished himself at the battle of Gogandah (984) and served under Mirza Shahrukh in Kashmir
- 105 Sayyid Qasim, son of Sayyid Mahmud Khan (75) served under Khan Alam against the Mirzas. He distinguished himself in the Gujerat wars, and died in 1007
- 107 Muhibb Ali Khan distinguished himself as a loyal servant of Babur and Humayun. In 978 he made war upon Sultan Mahmud of Bhakkar, as a result of which that fort came into Akbar's hands. Muhibb was made Governor of Delhi and died in possession of the office in 989
- 108 Sultan Khwajah, Abdul Azim, was a saintly Sufi, who had much of the Emperor's confidence. In 984 he went to Mecca and on his return in 986 was made Qadr of the realm. He died in 992
- 110 Khwaja Jahan, Amina of Harat, a distinguished calligrapher accompanied Humayun to Persia and became Bakhshi to Akbar. On Akbar's accession he was given charge of the great seal, but fell under suspicion in the rebellion of Khan Zaman. He died in 982.
- 112 Hakim Abulfath was made Qadr and Amir of Bengal, rising higher and higher in royal favour. He took part in the disastrous expedition against the Yusufzais and by his insubordinate conduct to Zain Kokah helped to produce the catastrophe. He was a man of vast literary attainments
- 113 Shaikh Jamal, son of Muhammad Bakhtyar, was the brother

of Akbar's Superintendent of the Harem. He marched with Prince Murad against Mirza Muhammad Hakim of Kabul.

114 Jafar Khan, son of Qazaq Khan, was governor of Herat, but falling into disfavour migrated to India. He distinguished himself in the war with Khan Zaman.

115 Shah Fanal, son of Mir Najafi, served in the conquest of Malwah. He was famous for his skill in poetry and his courage in war.

118. Rupsi Bauragi, brother of Rajah Bihari Mall (23) was father of the more famous Jaimall, whose exploits are well known.

119 Itumad Khan, Khwajahsarah. See note to page 2 line 10.

120. Baz Bahadur was son of Shajawul Khan who was made Governor of Malwah by Sher Shah. On his death in 962 Baz Bahadur succeeded him. Against Baz Bahadur came the great expedition headed by Adham Khan and others, and he was defeated near Sarangpur. He returned, defeated Pir Muhammad, who had superseded Adham Khan, and reoccupied Malwah. In 978, however, he realized the futility of resistance, and threw himself upon Akbar's generosity, entering his service. He is buried in Ujjain with his Rupmati.

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121. Udai Singh Moth Raja, father in law of Jahangir, and grandfather of Shah Jahan. He served in the Gojrat wars.

122 Khwajah Shah Mancur served as Diwan to Khan Zaman and afterwards to Munim Khan Khanan. He worked for some time under Todar Mall, and in 983 was appointed Vazir. He was vigorous in his collection of arrears, and in his reform of the administration, indeed, his reduction of the Bengal and Bihar jagirs was among the causes of the military revolt in Bengal. A charge of conspiracy was trumped up against him and he was foully murdered (it was whispered, at Todar Mall's instigation) in 989. Akbar was bitterly grieved.

- 123 Qutluḡ Qadam Khan served in Malwah held a command in the van at the battle of Khairabad, and was present in the battle of Takaroi. He died before 1001
- 124 All Qubl Khan Indarabi rose under Humayan served in the war against Himu and in the unsuccessful expedition against Sikandar Sur. He was dead in 1001
- 125 Adil Khan, son of Shah Muḥammad i Qalati (95) served under Adham Khan in Malwa, and was afterwards present at the siege of Chitor. He died as a result of wounds received in saving Akbar from a tiger
- 128 Muḥnuddin Ahmad Khan joined Humayun's army on the march to Hindustan. He was made Governor of Agra afterwards accompanied the Khan Khanan to Bengal, and died of fever after the battle of Takaroi.
- 129 Muḥammad Qul Toḡbal served under Adham Khan in Malwah, and was afterwards attached to Mun'im. He was present at Takaroi
133. Ḥabīb Ali Khan (distinguished from the son of Muḥibb Ali Khan of the same name) was a servant of Bairam. He besieged Rantanbhur unsuccessfully, and afterwards served with Adham Khan in Malwa
- 134 Jagmall, younger brother of Rajah Behari Mal (distinguish from 218) was governor of Mirtha, and commanded the great camp when Akbar marched to Patan and Ahmadabad 981
- 137 Qabul Khan conquered the district of Bhambar on the Kashmir frontier, which he ruled with his son Yadgar Husain (338). He was killed in a revolt of the local zemindars in 978 A H
- Page 166. Insert here 'Commanders of Nine Hundred'
138. Kuchak Ali Khan Kolabi¹ served under Mun'im Khan against Khan Zaman, and held a command in the battle of Takaroi.
- 139 Sabdal Khan Sumbul was a slave of Humayun
140. Sayyid Muḥammad, Mir Adil was a friend of Balaoni's father. He served in the expedition against Rajah

¹ or Kolati

Madhukar When the learned were banished from court, he was made Governor of Bhakhar He died in 985 or 986.

- 141 Razawi Khan, Mirza Mirak was a companion of Khan Zaman and was captured after his death. He was made Bakhshi of Bengal and his harsh behaviour was among the causes of the military revolt. He was captured by the rebels after attempting to conciliate them. He was dead in 1001.
142. Mirza Najat Khan served against Khan Zaman, and later in Bengal. He was one of the few men in Bengal who favoured the extension of Imperial authority, but was powerless to withstand the current of general opinion.
- 143 Sayyid Hashim brother of (100) served with Rai Rai Singh (44) against Sarohi. He was killed in the battle of Sarkich near Ahmadabad.
144. Ghazi Khan I Badakhshi was first in the service of Sulaiman King of Badakhshan, to whom he received access from his learning. He subsequently came to India, and distinguished himself in several expeditions. He opposed the rebellious grandees in Bihar and died in 992. He was the author of several works.
145. Farhat Khan Mihtar Sakal was a slave of Humayun who distinguished himself in the war against Muhammad Husain Mirza. He met his death in 984 fighting against Gajpati.
- 149 Mirza Husain Khan, brother of Mirza Najat Khan (142). Little is known of him beyond the fact that he accompanied Humayun on his march to India.
150. Hakim Zambil brother of Mirza Muhammad Tabib of Sabzerar. He was a personal attendant of the Emperor.
- 154 Shimal Khan Chelah was armour bearer of the Emperor and assisted in the capture of Kwaja Muazzam. He had died before 1001.
- 157 Maqum Khan joined Todar Mall in Bihar but later joined the ranks of the rebels. He was defeated by Shahbaz

Khan, and though pardoned, repeated the offence. He was murdered, perhaps with Akbar's connivance, as he was returning from the Darbar.

158. Tofak Khan Cachin served first with Babur, and joined Humayun on his return from Persia, remaining faithful to him throughout. Akbar gave him a jagir in Malwa. He served under the Khan Khanan in Malwa and Gujrat, and under Man Singh in Bengal. He died in 1004.
159. Khwaja Shamsuddin Khawafi accompanied his countryman Muzaffar Khan (37) to Bengal, and was received by Akbar. He became Subahdar of Kabul, and afterwards Diwan of the Empire. He died in 1008.
160. Jagat Singh was eldest son of Rajah Man Singh (30). He served under Mirza Jaffar (No 98) against Rajah Basu of Man.
161. Naqlb Khan, Mir Ghiasaddin Ali, was the son of the distinguished scholar Mir Abdullatif, who had fled from the court of Shah Tahmasp. He was Akbar's reader, and possessed great influence at court. He wrote certain portions of the Tarikh i Alf. He died in 1023.
162. Mir Murtaza Khan was at first in the service of Adil Shah of Bijapur. Nizam Shah called him to Ahmadnagar, and made him Amir ul Umara. He lost all his property in a revolution, and came with Khudawand Khan (151) to Akbar. He distinguished himself under Murad in the Deccan wars, and in the conquest of Ahmadnagar under Danyal.
163. Mir Sharif i Amuli was appointed Amin and Qadr of the new province of Kabul after the death of Mirza Muhammad Hakim. He served under Man Singh, and took part in the siege of Asir. He was "one of the heretics of the age."
167. Hasan Beg, Khan i Badakhshi, Shaikh Umar, was employed by Akbar against Sultan Husain Khan of Pakhal. Towards the end of the reign he was put in charge of Kabul, receiving Fort Rohtas as jagir. In 1014 he joined Khusr, but was captured and sewed in a cowhide by Jahangir.

- 172 Tash Beg Khan Mughal served under Mirza Muhammad Hakim of Kabul, and after the death of his master entered the service of Akbar. He helped in the conquest of Mau, and in the suppression of Raja Batsus revolt. He died in 1023 as Governor of That hah.
- 174 Rajah Raj Sing, a brother of Raja Bihari Mall (23) and a son of Rajah Askaran, who served against Madhukar, and under Todar Mall in Bihar. Raj Singh served for some time in the Deccan, and was appointed Commandant of Gwalior. For his services against the Bandelah clan he was promoted commander of 4000 with 3000 horse. He died in 1024.
- 175 Rai Bhoj, son of Rai Surjan Hada (96), served under Man Singh against the Afghans of Orisa, and under Abu l Fazl in the Deccan. He died 1016.
176. Sher Khwaja was a Sayyid of Itawah, his real name being Padishah Khwaja. He served under Said Khan Chaghtai (25) against the Yusufzais, and under Sultan Murad in the Deccan. He remained in favour with Jahangir, and was faithful to him when he was detained by Mahabat Khan.
177. Qara Bahadur, son of Mirza Mahmud, and a member of the royal family of Kashgar, attempted to reconquer Kashmir after the murder of Mirza Haidar, but was defeated. Akbar made him Governor of Mandu.
- 180 Muzaffar Husain Mirza, grandson of Muhammad Sultan Mirza invaded Gujerat in 985, but was defeated by Todar Mall. Soon afterwards he was taken prisoner, but was released and married to Akbar's daughter, Sultan Khanum. In 1008 he became *faqir*, but was captured and imprisoned. He died soon after.
- 189, Sayyid Abdullah Khan, son of Mir Khwananda, served in the Gujerat war with the Khan i Kalan (16), and was in the battle of Takaroi. During the Bengal military revolt he served under Mirza Aziz and Shahbaz Khan. In 997 he was surprised and killed by some Kashmiris in a night attack.

- 190 Dharu was son of Rajah Todar Mall (39)
- 191 Ahmad Beg I Kabuli entered Akbar's service on the death of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, and received a jagir in Kashmir, of which country he became Governor in Jahangir's reign.
192. Hakim Ali of Gilan became personal attendant and friend to Akbar. He built the wonderful reservoir which contained a small room. He was called the "Galenus of the Age" and his drugs had a great reputation. He died in 1018

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- 194 Cadr Jahan Mufli was made Cadr in Akbar's 34th year, and scandalized opinion in 998 by taking part in a drinking feast. He temporized with the Divine Faith and skilfully maintained his position. He died in 1020
- 195 Takhtah Beg I Kabuli, Sardar Khan, joined the service of Akbar after the death of Mirza Muhammad Hakim. He served with Man Singh against the Yusufzais and in Jahangir's reign was made Governor of Qandahar. He died in 1016
- 196 Rai Patr Das, Rajah Bikramajit, was at first *Mushrif* of the elephant stables, but distinguished himself in the siege of Chittor. He was made joint *duwan* of Bengal with Mir Adham, and after the revolt, was made *duwan* of Bihar, and later of Kabul. Jahangir afterwards made him *Mir Atash*
- 199 Mir Abul Qasim Namakin was a Sayyid of Herat, and first in the service of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, afterwards joining that of Akbar. He served against Daud of Bengal. He was appointed to Bhakkar. In Jahangir's reign he helped to capture Khusr, and received fresh promotion
- 200 Wazir Beg Jamli served in the war with Khan Zaman (13) and later took part in Bengal expeditions under Munim Khan. He served under Jagannath against the Rana
202. Babu Mankli was first in Daud's service, but was afterwards employed in Bengal by Akbar. He took part in the

- operations against Qutlu Khan, and accompanied Man Singh to Orisa.
- 203 Muhammad Quli Khan Turkman took the side of the Bengal rebels, but was pardoned. He marched with Man Singh to Kabul in 993, and served with distinction in Kashmir.
205. Hakim Humam was a personal friend of Akbar's, and a power at court. He died in 1004.
207. Balti Khan of Turkistan, was a grandee of Humayun, serving in the Kabul wars, and the battles that led to the restoration.
- 210 Shaikh Ahmad was the second son of Shaikh Selim of Fathpur Sikri. He died in 985.
213. Jalal Khan Qurchi was a friend of Akbar. He introduced Badaoni to court. He distinguished himself in the Marwar war, and was murdered in mistake for another in 983.
- 217 Sayyid Jamaladdin, son of Sayyid Ahmad Barha, served in the final war with Khan Zaman. He was killed by the untimely explosion of a mine during the siege of Chittor.
- 226 Hasim Beg, son of Qasim Khan (59), served under Mirza Rustam (9) in the Panjab. In 1019 he was transferred after having been Governor of Orisa. His son was the famous Muhammad Qasim Khan, Mir Atash.
- 227 Mirza Faridun, son of Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas, served under Mirza Abdurrahman (29) in Sind. In Jahangir's reign he served with Prince Khurram against Rana Amar Singh. He died in 1023.
228. Yusuf Khan, King of Kashmir, came as an exile to Akbar's court in 987, and was reinstated with his help. As he was unwilling to recognize his obligations to the Emperor, Yusuf's territory was invaded by Mirza Shahrukh (7), and he was obliged to submit, although his son Yaqub carried on the struggle. Yusuf was given a jagir in Bihar, and served in Bengal. Yaqub soon after submitted.
235. Janish Bahadur was first in the service of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, and after his master's death came to India. He served under Zaim Kokab (34) against the Yusufzais, and

served with distinction against Malik Ambar. He died of wounds in 1021.

- 275 **Shaikh Khubu**, Qutbuddin Khan : Chishti of Fatehpur Sikri was fosterbrother of Jahangir. He became Subahdar of Bihar, and afterwards of Bengal. He was killed by Sher Afgan Ali Quli Istajlu (394), first husband of Nur Jahan.
- 276 **Liaqat Mulk** of Aashan—nothing is known of him.
- 277 **Hamzah Beg Itrat-i-Ali** perhaps a brother of (203).
- 280 **Peshrau Khan Mihtar Sa'adat**, was presented by Shah Tahmasp to Humayun. Akbar sent him to Bihar in 982 where he narrowly escaped death at the hands of Gajpati. He died in 1017. Jahangir said of him that he was an excellent servant and when 90 years old smarter than many a younger man.
- 281 **Qazi Hasan Qazwini** served in Gujrat in 995, and later in the siege of Asir.
- 282 **Mir Murad i Juwaini** belonged to the Sayyids of Juwain. He was an excellent shot, and rifle instructor to Prince Khurram. He died as Bakhshi of Lahore.
- 301 **Husain**, the Pakhlival called himself Sultan Husain, and refused to submit to Akbar. He was conquered by Hasan Beg (167) about 1000. He was still alive in 1029 when Jahangir visited him.
- 309 **Daulat Khan Lodi** was at first in the service of Aziz Kokah (21), then was transferred to Abdurrahim (29). He distinguished himself in the wars of Gujerat, and his courage was proverbial. He died in 1009. His second son was the famous Pir Khan Khan Jahan Lodi.
- 318 **Nil Kanth** was Zamindar of Orisa.
- 319 **Ghias Beg**, Ftimad uddaulah, of Tahran. After the death of his father, Khwaja Muhammad Sharif Ghias fled from Persia and at Qandahar the future Nur Jahan was born to him. He was introduced to Akbar and in 1003 made Diwan of Kabul. In 1020, when Nur Jahan married Jahangir Ghias was made *Vakil-i-Kil*. He died in 1031.
- 327 **Khwaja Sulaiman** of Shiraz was sent to Bengal to adjust

the differences between Çadiq Khan and Shabbaz in 992
He was Bakhshi of the Panjab in 1010

- 328 Barkhurdar, Mirza Khan Alam, son of Abdurrahim Duldai (186), was made *Qushbegi* by Jahangir, and in 1020 was sent as return ambassador to Persia. At the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign, he was made Governor of Bihar, but was deposed for incompetence.
- 329 Mir Ma'cum of Bhakkar sought his fortune in Gûjêrat. He was introduced to Shihab Khan (26), the Governor, and by him recommended to Akbar. He served in Gujrat in 992, and against Muzaffar in Kachh. He is well known as a poet and historian, and is the author of the *Tarikh-i Sind*.

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- 336 Pratap Singh, son of Rajah Bhagwan Das (27), was defeated along with Maha Singh, Jagat's son (160) near Bhadrak in 1003, by the Afghans.
- 337 Husain Khan Qazwini, perhaps the same as (291)
- 338 Yadgar Husain, son of Qabul Khan (137), was wounded in the rebellion of the Zamindars of Bhambar, when his father was killed (978). In 1021 he was promoted for his services in the Deccan.
- 339 Kamran Beg of Gilan served in 996 against Fateh Khan in Gujêrat, and in 999 against Muzaffar.
- 348 Hakim (Jalaluddin) Muzaffar of Ardistan, was a doctor at the court of Shah Tahmasp, and emigrated when young to India. He served in Bengal in 988, and died in 1016, being accidentally poisoned.
- 349 Abdussubhan, son of Abdurrahim Duldai (186), was Faujdar of Allahabad. He was sent to Kabul, where he perished in a fight with the Afridis in 1025.
- 350 Qasim Beg of Tabriz served under Sultan Murad in Malwah in 999, and died 1007. He was a famous man of learning.
- 351 Sharif, Amir ul Umara, son of Khwajah Abduçcamad (286), was the school companion of Prince Selim, who was much attached to him. He widened the breach between Selim and Akbar, and when Selim came to the throne, was

served with distinction against Malik Amber. He died of wounds in 1021.

275. Shalkh Khubu, Qutbuddin Khan i Chishti of Fatehpur Sikri was fosterbrother of Jahangir. He became Subahdar of Bihar and afterwards of Bengal. He was killed by Sher Afgan Ali Quli Istajlu (391) first husband of Nur Jahan.
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entrusted with the Great Seal. He was a good painter and poet.

352. Taqiyā of Shustar was a follower of the "Divine Faith," a poet, and a man of learning. He was alive in 1017.

366. Sakra was brother of Rana Pratap and son of Uday Singh. He joined Parwiz's expedition against Rana Amar in 1014, and at the end of the same year served against Dilpat.

370. Shaikh Kabir : Chishtī, Shuja'at Khan, Rustam : Zaman, served under Khan Jahan (r. No. 309) in the Deccan. He afterwards went to Bengal, and commanded the Imperialists in the last war with Usman.

373. Shakhru'llah Zafar Khan, son of Zain Khan Kolah (34) was the brother of Jahangir's wife. He was appointed to Atak, and was ordered to keep the Khatar and Dilah zak tribes in order. In 1021 he was Governor of Bihar. He died in 1031.

374. Mir Abdul Mumin was son of Mir Samarqandi, a learned man who came to Agra during Bairam's regency.

375. Lashkari, son of Mirza Yusuf Khan (35) was Thanahdar of Bir under Akbar. In 1019 he was promoted to 1500 troops, with 700 horse, and next year was made Subahdar of Kashmir. He died in 1055.

391. Ali Quli Beg, Istajlu Sher Afgan Khan, was table-attendant to Ismail II of Persia, and on his death went over to Khan Khanan (29). He rendered distinguished services in the That hab war, and Akbar married him to Mirunnissa, afterwards Nur Jahan. He was killed in the encounter with Shaikh Khubu (275), much to Jahangir's joy.

401. Khwaja Muqim, son of Khwaja Miraki, served under Aziz Kolah in Bengal, and in the same place in 993. In 999 he was made Bakhshi.

402. Qadir Khan was foster-brother of Mirza Shahrukh (7), and served in Gujrat in 999.

403. Firuzah was a slave of Humayun, who brought him up with Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Akbar's brother.

407 Pahar Khan, the Baluch, served against Daud in 984 and afterwards in Bengal. In 989 he was *tuyuldar* of Ghazi pur. In 991 he served in Gujrat, and commanded the centre at the fight near Patan, when Sher Khan Fuladi was defeated.

Page 173 [line 4 from bottom], a better translation is as follows—

“Various meanings attach to the term ‘slave’ *First*, that which people in general mean by a slave. Some men obtain power over such as do not belong to their sect, and sell and buy them. The wise regard this as abominable. *Secondly*, he is called a slave who leaves the path of selfishness, and chooses the road of spiritual obedience. *Thirdly*, one’s child. *Fourthly*, one who kills a man in order to inherit his property. *Fifthly*, a robber who repents and attaches himself to the man whom he had robbed. *Sixthly*, a murderer whose guilt has been atoned by payment of money, in which case the murderer becomes the slave of the man who releases him. *Seventhly*, he who cheerfully and freely prefers to live as a slave.”

Page 176, after line 8 [insert]—

“The carefulness with which the system of marking horses was attended to resulted at once in truthful reports regarding dead horses, for when a soldier, after the introduction of the system of repeated marks, brought a horse which had been exchanged he would demand his pay from the time when he had last received it, while the Bakhshi commenced to count from the day he brought his horse. But since the present mark was introduced the rule was made that each horse with which, instead of with his old one, a trooper came to the master, should be described, and should receive the same mark as the dead one. The Bakhshis at the musters subsequently held for repeating the marks, were to inspect it, and be guided by the brand. Horses answering the description in the rolls were even hired and substituted for the old ones, but since the mark

was not forthcoming, the deception was detected and the soldiers thus learnt to be honest

"The Mançabdars of the Emperor have their horses freshly marked every year, and thus maintain the efficiency of the army. By their example, unprincipled persons learn to choose the path of rectitude. If a mançabdar delays bringing his men to the muster, one tenth of his jagir is withheld. Formerly, when the mark was repeated they put a number on the muster of the horse, marking a horse with 2 when it was mustered the second time and so on. But now, as each class of soldiers has a particular mark the mark is merely repeated at subsequent musters."

Page 179 [after line 6, the original continues]—

"The Emperor's object is, that every duty be duly performed, that there be no improper increase or decrease in any department, that dishonest people be removed and honest people held in esteem, that active servants may work without fear, and negligent, forgetful men be held in check."

[Instead of the first paragraph "Of Sanads" read as follows]—

"Every matter of money will be satisfactorily settled when the parties express their minds clearly, then take a pen, and write down the statement in legible handwriting. Every written statement of accounts is called a Sanad. All classes of men adopt the practice. The sanad is the voucher which relieves the treasurer of all responsibility, and on which people receive payment of their claims. Honest, experienced officials, on whose forehead shines the mark of rectitude write the agreement upon loose pages and leaves, so that the transaction cannot be forgotten. These loose sheets are called the Daftar, and with them all sanads are entered.

Page 182, line 5 from the bottom. For "Oungeh" read "Atkah".

Pages 186-8 [The sajurghal lands were hereditary,

differing thereby from the jagir and tujal lands, which were conferred in lieu of salary. The whole of this passage proves that Akbar interfered somewhat arbitrarily with *sayurghal* lands resuming them when he liked, to the ruin of many Afghan families. He was especially severe on the grant holders of Sher Shah's time. He also broke the power of the Qadr, whose control over the grants had been supreme.]

Page 196 [In the paragraph "Of Hunting" after 'this sport' in line 4 insert]—

"He always makes hunting a means of increasing his knowledge, and besides, makes hunting parties an occasion to inquire into the condition of the people and the army, without giving notice of his coming. He travels *incognito*, and examines into matters of taxation, sayurghal lands or of the household. He lifts up such as are oppressed, and punishes the oppressors. On account of these higher reasons the Emperor indulges in the chase."

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE REIGN OF AKBAR

N B —(i) *In the Table which follows the blank column on the right hand page is intended to be used by the student as a space for writing his own notes.*

(ii) In this Table the following abbreviations have been used —

A.N for *Akbar Nama*
T A for *Tabaqat Akbari* •

(iii) The bracketed words in the third column of the left page are the names of Ilahi years •

Christian Year	Hijri Year	Itabi Year	Events.
1542 October 15	949 Rajab 5	—	AKBAR BORN
—	•		
—	Ramzan 18	—	Left behind by Humayun in his flight, Akbar is taken to Qandahar
1545 Winter	—	—	Akbar carried to Kabul by the servants of Kamran.
1546 November 4	953 Ramzan 10	—	Akbar recovered from his uncle Kamran.
1547	954	—	Faizi born.
1551	958	—	Abu l Fazl born
January 14	Muharram 6	—	HUMAYUN STARTS FROM KABUL TO CONQUER INDIA
1554 November	961 Z ilhijjah	—	Encamps at the Indus
December 31	962 Safar 6	—	Enters Lahore
1555		—	Akbar takes part in the battle of Sirhind
February 24	Rabi II 2	—	DEATH OF HUMAYUN
June 22	Shaban 2	—	
1556	963	—	
January 24	Rabi I.	—	
	•		

Remarks	Students Notes
<p>Dr V Smith undertakes to prove that Akbar's birth took place on Thursday, November 23rd which corresponds with Jauhar's "full moon" day, 14th Sha'ban. But at all events until the appearance of his evidence, the traditional date, vouched for by authority so good as Gulbadan Begam, must be accepted.</p>	
<p>The fact that Humayun's death was concealed for between two or three weeks makes the determination of the exact date very difficult. The dates assigned vary from 7 Rabi I (Blochmann p. 319) to 15th Rabi I (Nizamud Din). In between we have 11 Rabi I (Jauhar and Firishia) 13 Pabi I (Padshah Nama) and 14 Rabi I (Aaliya Purnama's translation p. 55)</p>	

Remarks	Students Notes
<p>Thus all authorities are agreed that the Emperors unconsciousness passed into death some time during the week 7-16 Rabi I 963, or 21st-29th January 1550. Authorities are agreed that the accident took place on the evening of Friday, 20th January, 1550</p>	
<p>The Ilahi era did not commence from the date of accession but from the first day of <i>Nauroz</i> next following 25 days after (N II 18 See also Appendix D of Wright's <i>Catalogue of Mogh Coins</i>)</p>	
<p>T A mentions Friday in Mu harram which can fall only on the 3rd or 10th, and since Badaoni gives the date as the 10th these two authorities seem to agree on the latter date A N gives 2nd Mu harram.</p>	
<p>A N gives Rabi II. 27 Beveridge rightly remarks that the Ilahi year being solar the first and second Ilahi years can not have begun on the same date of the Muhammadan year T A gives 9th Jamad I for the beginning of the second year Akbar name is manifestly wrong</p>	

Christian Year	Hijri Year	Ilahi Year	Events
January 24	Rabi I	—	DEATH OF HUMAYUN—contd
February 14	Rabi II 2	1	ACCESSION OF AKBAR.
March 11	Rabi II 28	(Farwardin) Far 1	ILAHY YEA RECKONED FROM THIS DATE.
November 5	964 Muharram 2	Aban 23	BATTLE OF PANIPAT
1557 March 11	Jamad I 9	2 (Ardibehsht) Farwardin 1	Second Ilahi year com menced
July 24	Ramzan 27	Mardad 11	Sikandar surrenders at Mankot
1558 March 10	965 Jamad I 20	3 (Khurdad) Farwardin 1	Third Ilahi year com menced.
1559 January- February	966 Rabi II	Bahman	Capture of Gwalior
March 12	Jamad II 2	4 (Tir) Far 1	Fourth Ilahi year com menced.

Remarks

Students' Notes

Thus all authorities are agreed that the Emperor's unconsciousness passed into death some time during the week 7-15 Rabi I 963, or 21st-29th January, 1556. Authorities are agreed that the accident took place on the evening of Friday, 20th January, 1556.

The Ilahi era did not commence from the date of accession but from the first day of *Nauroz* next following 25 days after (N II 18. See also Appendix D of Wright's *Catalogue of Mogul Coins*).

T A mentions Friday in Muharram, which can fall only on the 3rd or 10th, and since Badaoni gives the date as the 10th, these two authorities seem to agree on the latter date. *A N* gives 2nd Muharram.

A. N gives Rabi II. 27. Beve ridge rightly remarks that the Ilahi year being solar, the first and second Ilahi years can not have begun on the same date of the Muhammadan year. *T A* gives 9th Jamad I for the beginning of the second year. Akbar's name is manifestly wrong.

Christian Year	Hijri Year	Ilahi Year	Events
1560	968	5	
March 12	Jamād II. 13	(Amardad) Far 1	<i>Fifth</i> Ilahi year commenced.
March 27	Jamād II. 28	Farwardin 16	AKBAR ASSUMES GOVERNMENT. FALL OF BAIKRAM KHAN.
April 9	Rajab 12	Farwardin 30	Rebellion of Baikram Khan.
September	968		
October	Muharram	Aban	Submission of Baikram Khan.
1561			
January 31	Jamād I. 14	Bahman 22	Murder of Baikram Khan.
March 10	Jamād II. 24	6	
March 28	Rajab 12	(Shahrivar) Far 1	<i>Sixth</i> Ilahi year commenced.
May 15	Shaban 2	Far 18	Baz Bahadur of Malwa defeated by Adham Khan.
July 19	Zilqada 4	Khurdad 2	Akbar surprises Adham Khan at Sarangpur.
1562	969	Amardad 4	Akbar's visit to his eastern provinces.
January	Jamād I	Bahman	BIHARI MAL OF AMBER JOINS AKBAR.
March 11	Rajab 5	7	
		(Mihir) Far 1	<i>Seventh</i> Ilahi year commenced.
—	—	—	Abolition of the practice of enslaving war prisoners.
—	—	—	Push expedition of Akbar's Lieutenant Pir Muhammad to the South and re-occupation of Malwa by Baz Bahadur who is subsequently expelled by Abdullah Uzbek.
			Arrival of Sayid Beg Naum the ambassador of Shah Tahmasp of Persia.

Remarks	Students Notes
<p>T 4 gives 7th Rajab Tuesday, but this date falls on Friday the 13th March and not on the 10th as Elliot says. Rajab 5 does fall on Tuesday vide <i>Vergleichungs Tabellen</i> (Wustenfeld)</p> <p>We do not know on what authority Von Noer puts this event in 153 (Vol I 294)</p>	

Christian Year	Hijri Year	Ilahi Year	Events
May 16	Ramzan 12	Khurdad 6	Adham Khan thrown down the battlements of Agra fort.
1563 March 10	970 Rajab 15	8 (Iban) Far	<i>Eighth</i> Ilahi year commenced.
—	—	—	Defeat of Raja Ram Chand and conquest of Panna,
—	—	—	Disturbances at Kabul and appointment of Munam Khan as governor,
—	—	—	Gakkars subdued, Fort of JODHPUR TAKEN
1564 January 11	Jamad I 27	Bahman 2	Attempt on Akbar's life by Qatlaq Faulad
March 11	971 Pajab 27	9 (Azar) Far 1	<i>Ninth</i> Ilahi year commenced.
—	—	—	JADZIA ABOLISHED

Remarks	Students' Notes
<p>T A gives Monday 12th Ramzan 960 H, but this date does not fall on Monday but on Wednesday Badaoni mentions 12th Ramzan 960 Abul Fazl's date, 12 Ramzan, corresponds to the day mentioned by him (<i>Maasir ul Umara</i>, p 117)</p>	
<p>A A gives ninth year (see Vol II 204 Orig Bib Ind, Beveridge, Vol II 316 and note to Vol III 438) while Badaoni gives 25th which according to his calculation corresponds with 987 H (Lowe, Vol II 284) J N Sarkar gives 1579 (<i>Aurangzeb</i>, Vol III. 308) Burgess in his <i>Chronology of Modern India</i> (p 41) gives the year 1565, which is irreconcilable with original authorities The same may be said of Von Noer's date 973 H. corresponding with 1565 A D Dr Vincent Smith (<i>Ox Hist Ind</i>, p 132), usually accurate in chronology, seems to have followed in this matter Von Noer, though he places the event in the ninth year</p>	

Remarks	Evidence Notes
<p>Noer (Vol. II p. 293) wrongly puts the battle on 20th Jamad I or 20th Dec. 1564 the date on which the allies marched against Vijayanagar (see Sewall's <i>Forgotten Empire</i> p. 199) Firishta gives 20th Jamad II. (Briggs, III 414), and Sewall also mentions the event on the same date (see p. 202) but Burgeas in his <i>Chronology</i> mentions 20th January 1565 (p. 41)</p>	

Christian Year	Hijri Year	Ilahi Year	Events
1566 March 10	973 Shaban 18	11 (Bahman) Far 1	Eleventh Ilahi year commenced
November 15	974 Jamad I 3	Azar 4	Akbar starts to oppose Mirza Muhammad Hakim who had attacked Lahore
—	—	—	Rebellion of Mirzas in Sambhal
1567 March 11	974 Shaban 29	12 (Isfandarmaz) Far 1	Twelfth Ilahi year commenced.
—	—	—	Rebellion of Khan : Zaman
May 7	Shawwal 26	Ardibihisht 26	Ali Kuli Khan Akbar starts from Agra against him
June 9	Zilhijja 1	Khurdad 29	Battle of Sakrawal (Fathpur), defeat and death of Khan : Zaman.
—	975 —	—	FAIZI PRESENTED BEFORE AKBAR. Disturbances in Malwa raised by the Mirzas suppressed, campaign against Chitor begun.
1568 February 25	Shaban 25	Isfandarmaz 15	JAI MAL SHOT, FALL OF CHITOR.
March 10	Ramzan 11	13 (Farwardin) Far 1	Thirteenth Ilahi year commenced.
1569 March 11	976 Ramzan 22	14 (Ardibihisht) Far 1	Fourteenth Ilahi year commenced.
March 22	Shawwal 3	Farwardin 12	FALL OF RANTHAMBOH.
August 13	977 Safar 29	Amardad 31	News of fall of Kalinjar brought.
—	—	—	Arrival of an embassy from the Raja of Kaji (Malabar), GWALIOR ANNEXED, PALACES AT FATHPUR BUILT
August 30	Rabi I 17	Shahrivar 18	Birth of Salim.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

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Remarks	Students Notes
<p>The exact date of the fall of the fort is not known.</p>	

Christian Year	Hijri Year	Ilahi Year	Events
1570 March 11	Shawwal 3	15 (Khurdad) Far 1	<i>Fifteenth</i> Ilahi year commenced.
June 8	978 Muharrum 3	Khurdad 27	Birth of Murad PRINCES OF JODHPUR BEKABER, AND JAISALMER OFFER SUBMISSION, the latter two giving princesses in marriage. Bai Bahadur at last comes to the court of Akbar and is graciously received
1571 March 11	Shawwal 14	16 (Tir) Far 1	<i>Sixteenth</i> Ilahi year commenced.
—	—	—	BUILDINGS AT FATHPUR SIKRI COMPLETED
1572 March 11	979 Shawwal 23	17 (Amardad) Far	<i>Seventeenth</i> Ilahi year commenced.
July 2	980 Safar 20	Tir 20	Akbar starts on an expedition against Gujerat
September 9	Jamād I 2	Shahriyur 27	Birth of Daniyal.
November 20	Rajab 14	Azar 10	Arrives at Ahmadabad and receives homage
—	—	—	Ali Shah Chak of Kashmir sends his niece, who is married to Salim, Sulaiman, Humayun, ruler of Bengal dies
December	Shaban	Dai	BATTLE OF SARVAL, victory over Mirza Ibrahim Husain.
1573 February 24	Shawwal 20	Isfandarmaz 18	Surrender of Surat
March 10	Zilqada 6	18 (Shahriyur) Far 1	<i>Eighteenth</i> Ilahi year commenced.
June 3	981 Safar 2	Khurdad 23	Akbar returns to the capital

Remarks	Students Notes
<p><i>T A</i> gives Sunday the 25th Shawwal 979</p>	
<p>Badaoni: <i>T A</i> and <i>A N</i> give the same date, but Von Noer curiously enough mentions 10th Jamad I 979 H (Vol II p 217)</p>	
<p>Badaoni: <i>T A</i> and <i>A N</i> give Pajab 14, but this date does not correspond to Azar 10 of <i>A N</i>. It ought to be 8 Azar according to calculation.</p>	

Christian Year	Hijri Year	Ilahi Year	Events
August 23	Rabi II 24	Shahr yur 10	THE SECOND EXPEDITION TO GUJERAT AND THE FAMOUS RIDE TO AHMADA BAD
September 1	Jamad I 5	Shahr yur 20	Akbar gains a decisive victory over overwhelming numbers of rebels
October 4	Jamad II 8	Mahr 22	Akbar returns to Sirr after an absence of 40 days
—	—	—	Translation of Sanskrit Books begun FIRMAN TO ANNEX BENGAL ISSUED Firman to compensate the damage caused by the march of royal troops
1574 March 11	Zilqada 17	19 (Mahr) Far 1	A <i>nineteenth</i> Ilahi year commenced.
Apr 1	Zilh jjs	Ardi	Rebellion of Chandra Sen of Jodhpur ARRIVAL OF ABUL FAZL AND BADAONI AT AKBAR'S COURT
June 20 August 8	982 Safar 29 Rabi II 19	Tir 8 Amardad 26	AKBAR STARTS FOR BENGAL Fall of Patna
1575 February March —	Zilqada — —	— — —	<i>Ibadat Khana</i> ordered to be built Re introduction of <i>Dagh</i> (branding of horses)
March 4	Zilqada 20	I fandar maz 24	BATTLE OF TUKROI and defeat of Daud
March 11	Zilqada 27	20 (Aban) Far	<i>Twenteth</i> Ilahi year commenced
April 12	983 Muharram 1	Aril b h aht 3	Treaty of Cuttock.

Remarks	Students Notes
<p>Dagh, according to Blochmann (p 326) was introduced in the 20th Ilahi year, but Delhi edition of Sir Syed Ahmad places it in the 18th year. Badaoni, however mentions it in the year 981 H corresponding to 19th Ilahi (see Orig Bib Ind. 103, Lowe, Vol. II 176)</p>	

Christian Year	Hijri Year	Dahl Year	Events
October 20	Rajab 15	Aban 7	Reception of Mirza Sulaiman.
1576		21	
March 11	Zilhijja 9	(Azar) Far 1	Twenty first Ilahi year commenced.
—	—	—	Fall of Siwana and rebellion of Jodhpur crushed
April 1	984 Muharram 2	Farwardin 23	Man Singh marches from Ajmer against the Pans of Uda pur
June 18	Rabi I. 21	Tir ~	BATTLE OF GOGANDAH (Haldi Chati)
July 13	Rabi II 16	Mardad 1	ENGAGEMENT WITH DAUD AND HIS DEATH capture of Rohtas Shergarh and Sirohi forts Death of Miran Muhammad Faruqi, King of Khandesh, and interference of Akbar in success on Conquest of Idar
1577		22	
March 16	Zilhijja 20	(Da) Far 1	Twenty second Ilahi year commenced.
—	985	—	
—	—	—	Bundi reduced defeat of Muzaffar Husain Mirza, arrival of ambassadors from M Shahrukh of Badakhshan and Abdullah Khan of Turan.
January 10	Shaban 27	Aban 27	ARRIVAL OF AMBASSADORS FROM ISRAHIM QUTB SHAH OF GOLCONDA
—	—	—	An army sent to Baluchistan
1578	986	23	
March 11	Muharram 2	(Bahman) Far 1	Twenty third Ilahi year commenced
April	—	Farwardin	Capture of KOMBULIP GOGANDAH AND UDAIPUR.
—	—	—	Settlement of the troubles connected with Savur ghals (rent free lands.)
October 3	Shaban 1	Muhr 20	Regular weekly religious d scuss on begins.

Remarks	Students Notes
Tod gives July, Sawan 78 1632 (<i>Annals</i> , Vol. I p 271, Rout ledge)	

Christian Year	Hijri Year	Ilahi Year	Events
1579	987	24	
March 11	Muharram 12	(Istardarmaz) Far 1	Twenty-fourth Ilahi year commenced.
—	—	—	FALSA AGAINST ARBAW-JY
June 26	Jamād I. 1	Tir 14	MULLA MAHAMMAD YAZD AKBAR READS Khutba IN THE Jamī Masjid.
September 2	Rajab 10	Shahriyur 20	AKBAR DECLARED MUSTA HID
September 8	Rajab 16	Shahriyur 26	AKBAR VISITS AJMER
1580			
January 1	Zi Qa da 12	Dar 21	Yusuf, son of Ali Shah of Kashmir, asks help from Akbar
—	—	—	An army appointed to capture European ports, Akbar walks for 4 <i>las</i> to receive a stone with the impression of the Prophet's foot, brought by Abu Turab from Mecca and carries it on his shoul- ders for some distance, AKBAR DIVIDES HIS KING- DOM INTO 12 SUBANS AND SYSTEMATISES THEIR GOVERNMENT BY THE AP- POINTMENT OF VARIOUS DEPARTMENTAL HEADS, INTRODUCTION OF THE DECENNIAL SETTLEMENT, rebellion of Bihar and Bengal Officers.
March 12	988	25	
—	Muharram 24	(Farwardin) Far 1	Twenty-fifth Ilahi year com- menced.
—	—	—	Remission of <i>jay</i> and <i>tan</i> <i>gha</i>

Remarks	Students Notes.
<p>Abul Fazl places the event after Akbar's being declared Murtad, but he gives no date. This date has been taken from Blochmann and T. A. But Badroni gives this event after Akbar's being declared Murtad.</p>	
<p>Probably this was his last visit to the shrine at Ajmer (Badroni, Bib Ind Orig II, 272)</p>	

Christian Year	Hijri Year	Ilahi Year	Events
April 19	Fabi I 3	Ard bihisht 8	General rebels read <i>Khatba</i> in the name of M. Hakim.
December 24	Zilqada 16	Dai 12	Shadman, the great general of M. Hakim who was sent to conquer Hindustan is defeated by Man Singh and killed by Surjan Singh in a personal combat.
1581 January 24	Zilhijsa 17	Bahrman 14	*The news of M. Hakim's coming to the Panjab is brought to Akbar.
February 6	989 Mul arram 2	Bahrman 23	Akbar starts to fight Mirza Hakim.
February 27	Muharram 23	Isfandarmaz 19	Shah Mansur hanged on suspicion of intriguing with the enemy, Hakim begins his flight to Kabul.
—	—	—	AKBAR ORDER'S PREPARATION OF VILLAGE STATISTICS REGARDING OCCUPATION INCOME, ETC., OF THE INHABITANTS.
March 11	Safar 5	28 (Ard bihisht) Far 1	Twenty-sixth Ilahi year commenced.
July 13	Jamad II. 10	Tir 31	Akbar crosses the Indus, and lays the foundation of a fort at Attock.
August 1	Rajab 1	Amardad 20	M. Hakim defeated by the imperial army.
August 10	Rajab 10	Amardad 29	Akbar reaches Kabul.
December 1	Zilqada 5	Azar 19	Akbar returns to Fathpur.
1582 March 11	990 Safar 15	27 (Khurdad) Far 1	Twenty-seventh Ilahi year commenced.
—	—	—	THE ERA OF HIJRA BROUGHT TO A CLOSE. TODAY MAL APPOINTED AKBAR'S Faki (Prime Minister).

Remarks	Students Notes
<p>Von Noer mentions this event in <i>Khurdad</i> (May, 1579 Vol II 29) which is hardly possible</p>	
<p>Von Noer gives wrong dates for both these events (Vol II. 61) Briggs <i>Ferishta</i> II 253 gives Safar 7 which is unacceptable in face of <i>A N Badaoni</i> and <i>T A</i></p>	

Christia Year	Hijri Year	Ilahi Year	Events
			ORDERS GIVEN TO WHITE FARUKH ALFI Bihar re- bellion suppressed Trans- lation of the <i>Mahabharat</i> began.
1583 March 17	991 Safar 26	28 (Fir) Far 1	<i>Twenty-eighth</i> Ilahi year commenced.
—	—	Ardubihisht	Rebellion of Bengal sup- pressed, SUN WOR- SHIP INTRODUCED, Bu- rhan ul Mulk of Ahmad- nagar seeks refuge with Akbar, rebellion in Gu- jerat, Dharmapura and Kharapura built, practice OF WIDOW BURNING RE- STRICTED, SLAUGHTER OF ANIMALS PROHIBITED ON SUNDAYS AND OTHER SPECIFIED DAYS, Baroda falls into the hands of Muzaffar of Gujerat translation of the <i>Rama- yan</i> begun.
1584 March 11	992 Rabi I. 8	29 (Amardad) Far 1	<i>Twenty-ninth</i> Ilahi year commenced. Conquest of Baroach fort, ILAHİ ERA INTRODUCED
—	—	—	
1585 January 3	993 Muharram 11	Dai 23	Mirza Shah Rukh arrives at Sikri.
Feb 13	Safar 23	Asfandar 5	Salim married to the daughter of Rajah Bha- gwan Das.
March 11	Rabi I 19	30 (Shahriyur) Far 1	<i>Thirtieth</i> Ilahi year com- menced Murtaza of Bihar after being defeated by Ahmad nagar forces, comes to seek
—	—	—	

Remarks	Students Notes
Von Noer puts introduction of Sun worship in 988 H (1580) (see Vol I 340)	

Christian Year	Hijri Year	Ilahi Year	Events.
Feb 22	Rabi I 33	Isfandar 11	M Sulaiman again comes to Akbar
—	—	—	Muhammad Zaman Mirza son of Shah Pukh, comes to the court.
1587		32	
March 11	Rabi II 11	(Aban) Far 1	Thirty-second Ilahi year commenced.
—	—	—	Pacification of Zabulistan and defeat of Jallala.
Aug 6	Pamzan 12	Amardad 24	Birth of Khusru the son of Salim.
Sept 10	Shawwal 17	Shahriyur 28	Man Singh returns after punishing the Yusufzais. Raja Ali Khan of Burhanpur drives away the forces of Khan I'izam
			AKBAR ENCOURAGES WIDOW REMARRIAGE AND MONOGAMY, CASES OF HINDUS TO BE DECIDED BY BRAHMAN'S, TRIAL BY ORDEAL COUNTERVANCED.
1588	996	33	
March 10	Rabi II 22	(Azar) Far 1	Thirty-third Ilahi year commenced.
Aug 16	Shawwal 4	Shahriyur 4	Birth of Pustam son of Murad,
	997		
Nov 20	Muharram 12	Azar 9	Raja Rudra of Kumaon pays homage to Akbar
—	—	—	Expedition sent to punish Afghan tribes.
1589			
Feb 8	Rabi II 3	Isfandar 1	ABU L FAIZ (FAIZI) MADE MALIK U SHAH PA (poet laureate)
		34	
March 10	Jamadi I 4	(Dai) Far 1	Thirty-fourth Ilahi year commenced.
April 25	Jamadi II 19	Ar dibahisht 15	Death of Tan Sen, the famous musician
April 28	Jamadi II 22	Ar dibahisht 18	Akbar starts for Kashmir
—	—	Tir	An embassy sent to Tibet.
June 25	Shaban 21	Tir 13	Death of M. Sulaiman at Lahore

Remarks	Students Notes
<p>These events are mentioned by Badaoni under this year</p>	

Christian Year	Hijri Year	Ilahi Year	Events
Aug 6	Shawwal 4	Amardad 24	Amyr Fath Ullah died.
Sept 23	Zi Qa da 23	Mahr 10	Akbar reaches Kabul.
Oct 2	Zil Hujja 2	Mahr 19	Birth of Parvez son of Prince Salim
Oct 11	Zil Hujja 11	Mahr 28	DEATH OF TODAR MAL AT LAHORE.
	998		
Nov 15	Muharram 17	Azar 3	Death of Bhagwan Das
Nov 25	Muharram 27	Azar 13	Persian translation of <i>Baqiat i Firdaus Mahani</i> (Babur) by Khan Khanan Abdu r Rahim presented to Akbar
1590		35	
March 11	Jamad I 14	(Bahman) Far 1	Thirty fifth Ilahi year commenced.
March 12	Jamad I 15	Farwardin 2	Akbar comes back to Lahore
April 5	Jamad II 9	Farwardin 20	Second mission from Goa.
	999		
Oct 21	Mohar 5	Aban 11	Birth of Alam Sultan son of Prince Murad
Dec 20	Rabi I 0	Dai 15	Embassy from Turan
1591			
Jan 21	Rabi I 18	Dai 24	Khan Khanan sent to subdue Baluchistan Sind and Qandahar
		36	
March 11	Jamad I 24	(Isfandarmaz) Far 1	Thirty sixth Ilahi year commenced
July 17	Shawwal 4	Amardad 4	Embassy from Iran
		Amardad	Muzaffar Gujerati defeated by Khan i Azam
			Mirza Hoka defeats the Jam and Daulat Khan Ghori is killed
Aug 10	Zi Qa da 5	Shahriyur 3	Abdu r Rahman, son of Abu l Fazl born.
Aug 27	Zi Qa da 16	Shahriyur 14	Fazl sent to warn Raja Ali Khan against his relations with Burhan ul Mulk.
Sept 17	Zil Hujja 7	Mahr 4	Murad sent to govern Malwa
Oct 13	1000	Mahr 20	End of the Millennium
		End of Aban	Conquest of Sehwan and defeat of Arghuns

Remarks	Students' Notes
Badaoni gives this event in the year 35.	

Christian Year	Hijri Year	Ilahi Year	Events.
1592			
January 2	Rabi I 26	Dai 22	Ali I ai ruler of Tibet (?) sends his daughter to the Emperor
January 6	I abi I 30	Dai 26	Prince Khurram, son of Salim born
January 9	Rabi II 3	Dai 29	Danyal sent towards Qandahar
Feb 10	Jamad I 6	Asfandarmaz 2	READJUSTMENT OF HMA LISA LANDS
March 11	Jamad II 5	37 (Farwardin) Far 1	Thirtj seventh Ilahi year commenced
April 10	Rajab 6	Farwardin 31	Capture of Sultan Sur and annexation of Orissa.
Aug 15	Zi Qa da 15	Shahriyur 2	Defeat of Jani Beg Mirza Akbar crosses Chenab to meet Kashmir insurgents
Aug 30	Zi Qa da 30	Shahriyur 17	Conquest of Junagarh and Somnath
Sept 13	Zil Hija 14	Shahriyur 31	Defeat and death of Yusuf Khan of Kashmir
	1001		
Oct 6	Mohar 8	Muhr 23	Akbar at Srinagar
Nov 2	Safar 5	Aban 20	Return of Akbar
Dec. 25	Rabi I 20	Dai 14	Muzaffar Gujarati commits suicide after being taken prisoner
Dec 30	Rabi II. 4	Dai 10	Akbar reaches Lahore
1593			
March 11	Jamad II. 17	38 (Ardibihisht) Far 1	Thirtj eiglth Ilahi year commenced.
April 20	Rajab 28	Ardibihisht 10	Murad appointed governor of Gujarat
Aug 6	Zilqada 17	Amardad 24	Death of Mubarak father of Abu l Fazl
Aug 24	Zil Hija 5	Shahriyur 11	Marriage of Shah Pukh with Shukrunnisa Begam daughter of Akbar
	1002		
Sept 25	Muharram 8	Muhr 12	Mirza Rustam great grandson of Shah Ismail of Persia being displeased with his brother comes to the court of Akbar

Remarks	Students Notes.

Christian Year	Hijri Year	Ilahi Year	Events
Oct 8	Muharram 21	Mihir 23	Prince Danyal sent against Burhan ul Mulk but recalled from Sirhind.
1584 March 11	Jamād II. 28	39 (Khurdad) Far 1	Thirty ninth Ilahi year commenced.
Oct. 27	1003 Safar 23	Aban 14	Death of Nizām d Din Ahmad author of <i>Tabaqat-i Akbari</i> .
Nov 18	Rabi I 16	Azar 6	Expedition sent against the Rajahs of <i>Shumali Kot</i> (Siwalik hills).
Dec. 5	Padi II. 3	Azar 23	Ambassadors sent to Shah of Persia.
Dec 12	Rabi II. 10	Dai 1	Abul Faiz presents his Persian poem <i>Nal u-Daman</i> .
1595 March 11	Rajab 9	40 (Tir) Far 1	Fortieth Ilahi year commenced.
April 4	Chaban 3	Farwardin 25	Death of Burhan ul Mulk.
April 7	Shaban 6	Farwardin 28	OCCUPATION OF QANDAHAR AND ITS TERRITORY.
June 2	Shawwal 3	Khurdad 22	Prince Nurad starts from Barosch for the conquest of Ahmadsagar.
Aug 13	Zil Hija 16	Amardad 31	APPOINTMENT OF 12 VAZIRAS, ONE FOR EACH PROVINCE DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE TO THE PRIME MINISTER.
Aug 18	Zil Hija 21	Shahrivar 5	Vazir Husain Mirza, commandant of Qandahar comes to Akbar's court and pays homage.
Oct. 4	1004 Safar 10	Mihir 21	Death of Abul Faiz.
Dec 1	Rabi II. 9	Azar 19	Khan Khadan joins Nurad at a place 30 miles from Ahmadsagar.
1596 March 10	Rajab 20	41 (Amardad) Far 1	Forty first Ilahi year commenced.
June 5	Shawwal 18	Khurdad 26	Ambassadors sent to Turan.
Dec 23	1005 Jamād I. 13	Dai 13	Submission of the Rajah of Kuch.

Christian Year	Hijri Year	Ilahi Year	Events.
1597			
Jan 8	Jamād I 29	Dai 20	Murza Shah Rukh appointed governor of Malwa.
Feb 5	Jamād II 27	Bahman 28	Battle of Ashti fought.
		42	
March 10	Shaban 2	(Shahriyur) Far 1	Forty second Ilahi year commenced.
1598	1006		
Jan. 22	Rajab 4	Bahman 14	Abdulla Khan of Turan died.
—	—	—	AKBAR FINISHED
		43	
March 10	Shaban 13	(Mihir) Far 1	Forty third Ilahi year commenced.
	1007		
Oct 21	Rabi II 2	Aban 9	Conquest of Gawil Garh.
Nov 4	Rabi II 16	Aban 23	Embassy from Persia.
Nov 7	Rabi II 19	Aban 26	AKBAR STARTS FROM THE PANJAB FOR THE CONQUEST OF THE DECCAN
1599			
Jan. 5	Jamād II 19	Dai 26	Recall of Murad from Deccan.
Jan. 7	Jamād II 21	Dai 28	Embassy from Kashgar.
Feb. 8	Rajab 24	Isfandarmaz 1	Conquest of Daulatabad and Lohgarh.
		44	
March 10	Shaban 24	(Aban) Far 1	Forty fourth Ilahi year commenced.
April 19	Shawwal 5	Ardi 10	Conquest of Nasik.
May 1	Shawwal 17	Ardi 22	Murad died.
June 13	Zil Hija 1	Tir 2	Danyal sent to the Deccan.
	1008		
Aug 7	Muharram 27	Amardad 26	Shah Rukh joins the Deccan army.
Sept. 18	Rabi I 10	Mihir 6	Akbar leaves Agra for the Deccan.
		45	
1600			
March 10	Ramzan 4	(Azar) Far 1	Forty fifth Ilahi year commenced.
Mar 30	Ramzan 24	Farwardin 21	Akbar reaches Burhanpur.
—	—	—	Afghan nobles create disturbances in Bengal, but these troubles are suppressed.

Christian Year	Hijri Year	Ilahi Year	Events.
July 13	1009 Mohar 11	Amardad 1	SALIM ARRIVES NEAR AGRA WITHOUT AKBAR'S PERMISSION AFTER AN UNSUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN AGAINST UDAIPUR.
Aug 18	Safar 17	Shahriyur 6	Fall of Ahmadnagar
Nov 29	Jamad II. 2	Azar 18	Fall of Malaygarh.
1601			
Jan. 15	Rajab 20	Bahman 7	Fall of Asurgarh.
March 10	Ramzan 15	46 (Dai) Far 1	Forty-sixth Ilahi year commenced.
April 20	Shawwal 26	Ardibihisht 11	RETURN MARCH OF AKBAR TO THE CAPITAL.
Aug 12	1010 Safar 22	Amardad 31	Reaches Agra.
1602		47	
March 10	Ramzan 26	(Bahman) Far 1	Forty-seventh Ilahi year commenced.
—	—	—	Salim goes to Allahabad from Etawah.
Aug 6	1011 Rabi I 1	Amardad 28	MURDER OF ABU L FAZL.
1603		48	
March 10	Shawwal 8	(Isfandarmaz) Far 1	Forty-eighth Ilahi year commenced.
—	1012 —	—	Reconciliation of Akbar and Salim. Salim sent against Rana of Chittor.
Dec. 8	Rajab 16	Azar 27	Embassy dispatched to Persia.
1604		49	
March 10	Shawwal 18	(Farwardin) Far 1	Forty-ninth Ilahi year commenced.
June 20	1013 Safar 2	Tir 9	Dargal betrothed to the daughter of Adil Khan of Bijapur.
Aug 23	Rabi II. 7	Shahriyur 11	Akbar starts for Allahabad.
Aug 31	Rabi II. 15	Shahriyur 19	Death of Mariam Mahani, the mother of Akbar.
Nov 15	Rajab 3	Azar 4	Salim comes to Akbar.

Christian Year	Hijri Year	Hahi Year	Events.
1605		50	
March 10	Shawwal 28	(Ardibehisht) Far 1	<i>Fiftieth</i> Hahi year commenced.
—	Shawwal 28	—	Death of Sultan Dargal.
	1014		
Aug 28	Rabi II 22	10 Shahrivar	Murza Koka made <i>Jagirdar</i> of Bahar, Man Singh made guardian of Prince Khusrū and a <i>Mansabdar</i> of 7000, AKBAR COMMANDS HIS OFFICIALS TO TAKE ORDERS FROM SALIM AND OBTAIN HIS SEAL ALSO ON FIRMAN'S
Sept 24	Jamad I 20	Mihir 12	AKBAR falls seriously ill.
Oct. 16	Jamad II. 12	Aban 4	DEATH OF AKBAR.
Oct 17	Jamad II. 13	Aban 5	AKBAR buried in Behishta bad at Sikandarabad.

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